NAPOLEON AND HIS CORONATION

FRÉDÉRIC MASSON

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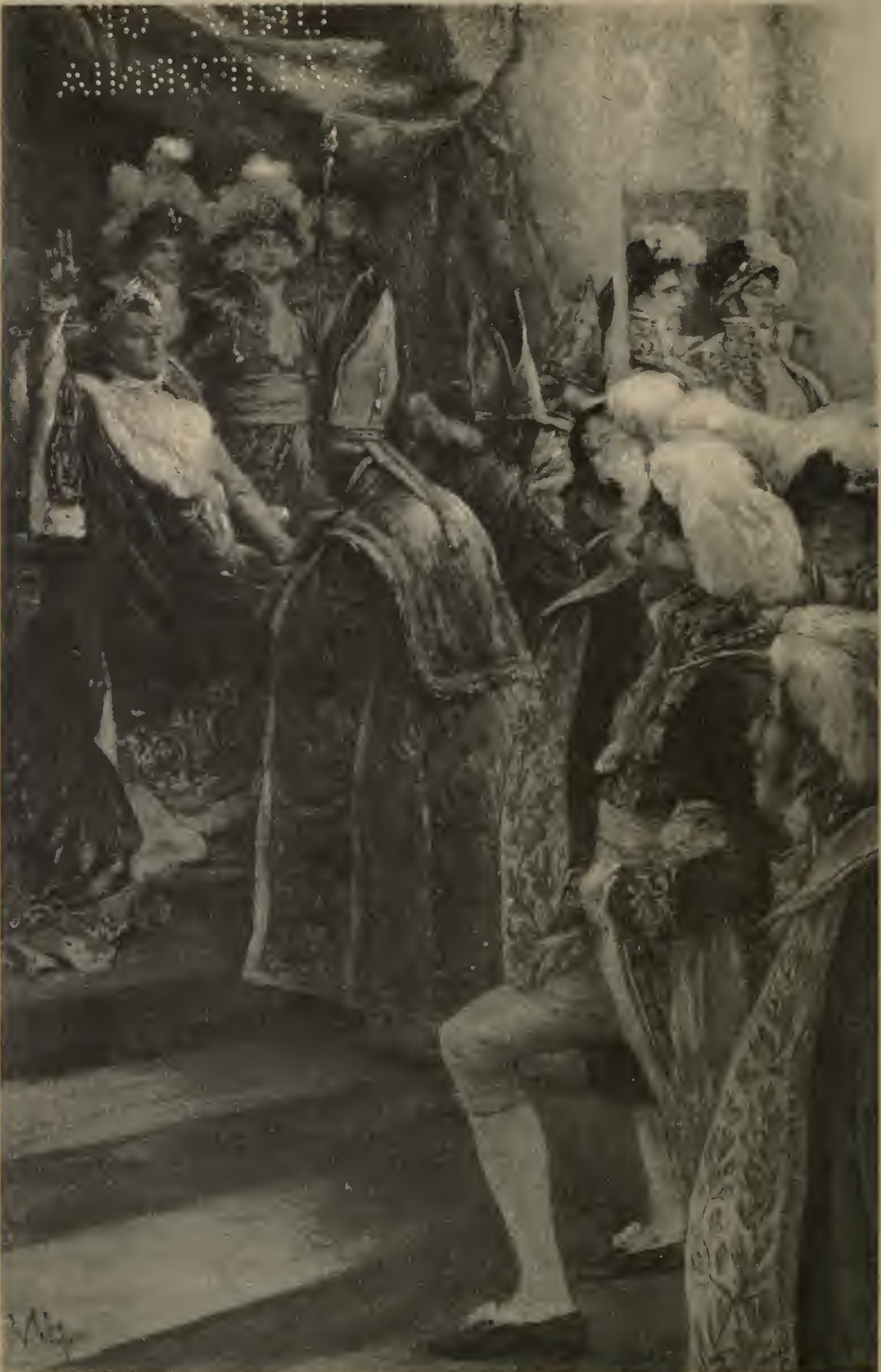

NAPOLEON AND HIS CORONATION

BY

FRÉDÉRIC MASSON

AUTHOR OF "NAPOLEON AND THE FAIR SEX," ETC.

TRANSLATED BY FREDERIC COBB

WITH 7 ILLUSTRATIONS BY FÉLICIEN MYRBACH

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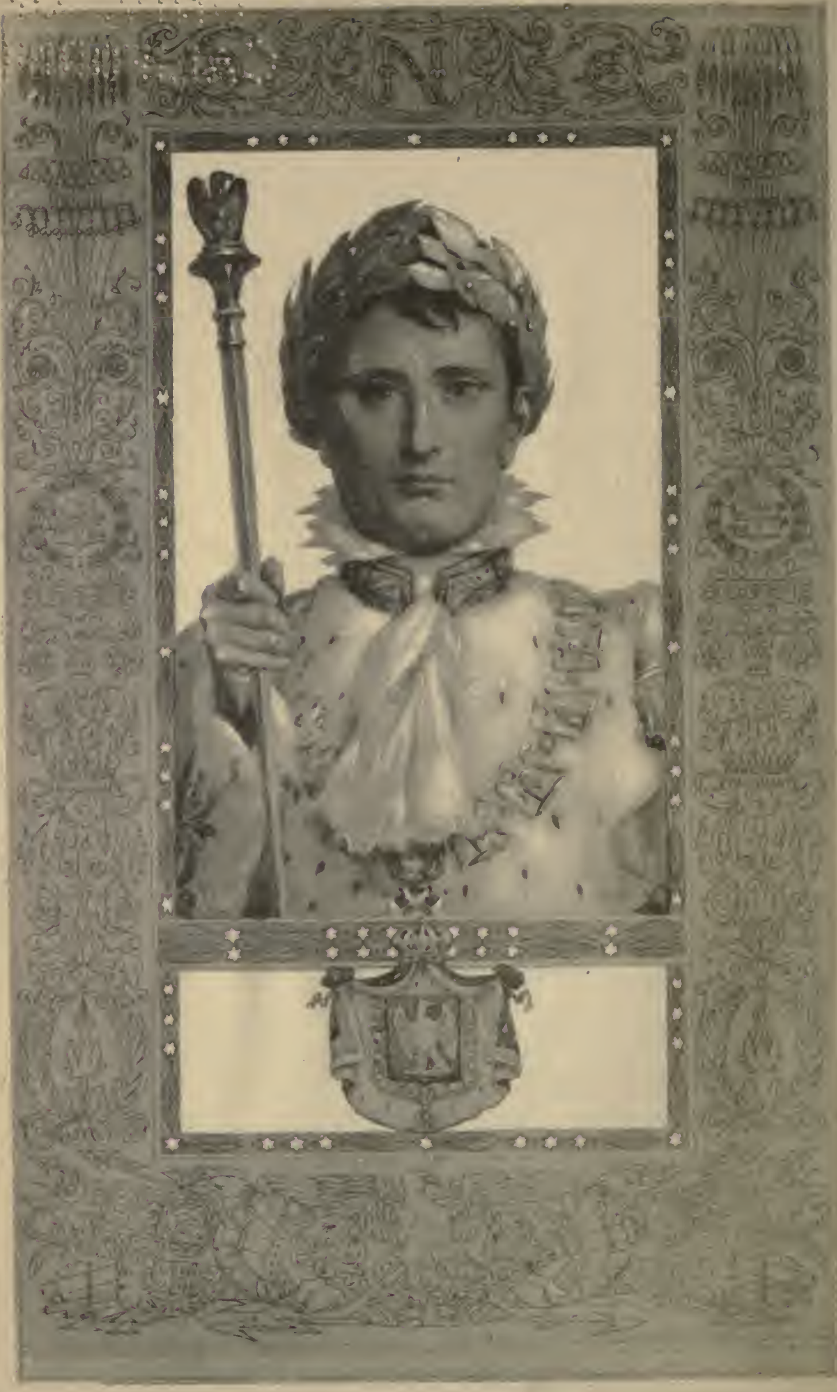

INTRODUCTION

In order to bring within the reach of amateurs one of the masterpieces of French art of the Napoleonic age, and above all, I must admit, to satisfy the long-felt desire of an impassioned bibliophile, I undertook, in concert with my collaborator and friend M. Manzi, to reproduce some copies in a handy form of the original designs by Isabey, Fontaine, and Percier which formed "The Book of the Consecration." I intended adding to these engravings a very short and purely descriptive text. This is my reason for having produced the present volume, in which the descriptions are based on documentary evidence, and in which religion, politics, and many other things are discussed. A completed book differs much from its author's first intention. We are carried away by the subject and swayed by the documents.

Thus it was that on entering upon the preliminary researches, looking over my notes, ascertaining the lacunæ and striving to fill them up, I was led to form a conception of the Consecration altogether different from that usually accepted. Such a surprise generally comes to any one who studies an historical fact pretty closely and endeavours to ascertain its causes, but here it was more than elsewhere unexpected. So many writers had recounted the negotiations with the Court of

Rome, the aspects and forms of the ceremony and the fêtes which preceded and followed it. It seemed a most hackneyed subject and one concerning which it was least useful to write, even admitting that there was any use in writing at all. Had I not myself in one of my books endeavoured to construct an acceptable theory of the part played by Josephine, and in another work set forth what I believed that I had discovered of the cabals formed by the mother, the brothers, and the sisters? I had no need to return to all this and I have returned to it only by allusion. Nothing has given me reason to think that I was deceived about the matters on which I touched. But I had examined only the supernumeraries, and had not sufficiently fixed my attention upon the principal actor. I had not asked myself why he had wished to be consecrated, nor on what conditions he had obtained his wish, nor what incertitudes he had passed through before, during, and after the ceremony, nor what price he had thought to pay for it, nor of what importance it had been. It seemed to me that there was everything to discover and tell. The documents of the archives supplied as detailed an account as could be desired of the exterior of things, there remained the souls and motives of the actors to be discovered. Was not the Consecration an attempt on the part of Napoleon to substitute a sort of Divine right in the place of the democratic right which had raised him up? Was it not the starting-point of the misunderstanding between the Emperor and the Nation, of the struggle between the Priesthood and the Empire, and of the triumph of the Ultramontane doctrines in France? Thence arose also the displays of impulsiveness which are inexplicable to him who is inclined to believe that with Napoleon everything was thought over and reasoned out, the quick changes of opinion, the delays and alterations in schemes which had to all appearances been determined on, the retrogressive movements, and the ruptures caused seemingly by disgust or disillusion? I came to the conclusion that the number of acts and ideas which proceeded from and were connected with the Consecration, and were directly or indirectly caused by it, was infinitely greater than I had supposed; that from it arose a new outlook upon men and things, and that to the elements of knowledge which we had of Napoleon this new one formed an important addition.

* * *

Because he had been consecrated by the Pope, Napoleon considered that he was clothed with an ineffaceable character, that he had become a sovereign equal to all other sovereigns, that as such he was above criticism, that he was the Anointed of the Lord, and that, if his Empire had not received Divine institution, it did not fall far short of it. It cannot be said that he believed this, but he meant at least to have it believed, and indeed the border is so quickly crossed between the spreading and believing of illusions that it may be questioned whether it was not in this case passed. At least into that faith which he had reposed in his destiny had he not, in spite of his denial, admitted an element of fatalism which was to render him more liable than any ordinary man to receive the impression that he had been chosen out, and that he was fulfilling and accomplishing a mission? Certainly on this point he offered no explanation, or only a confused one. But this belief, of which he might have been almost unconscious, which he did not reason out, and which he endeavoured to refute, is apparent in a number of casual expressions—thus when he wrote to Josephine: "All my life I have sacrificed everything, Tranquillity, Interest, Happiness, to my Destiny"; when he wrote: "I depend upon events; I have no Will; I await everything from their issue"; and again: "The greater you are, the less Will you ought to possess; you depend upon events and circumstances." What is Destiny if it is not providential? Of what value are events if they depend only upon Chance? Whosoever speaks of his Destiny knows well that he is Predestined. To all appearance a Divine institution is only a consequence and, as it were, a confirmation of an Election; but does not this institution become effective and important in the eyes of him who receives it? Does it not impose on his spirit, conquer and obsess him? This is not to say that Napoleon in his subsequent actions (up to 1810) thought it less necessary to exert himself. There are not wanting in history sovereigns who, fully convinced of their Divine right, have busied themselves in government and have had the decided opinion that continued activity on their part was necessary for its continuance. But we recognise them as believers by certain phrases, words, and expressions. It is clearly apparent that these phrases, words, and expressions are to be met with in Napoleon from the period of the Coronation.

That he was strongly confident that a religious Consecration would lend a weightier dignity to a sovereign invested by the popular choice; that he considered that only by this, by the Consecration and Coronation, he could become a true sovereign; that henceforth he was endued with an indelible character such as all the other sovereigns were bound to respect—all this is proved by the attempt he made in January, 1813, to induce the Pope to consecrate and crown his son. If he had looked upon the Consecration and Coronation as a mere ceremony suitable for displaying a majestic pomp and impressing the awe-struck multitude, would he have attempted to repeat it for his son? Would he, on the morrow of the Russian disasters, have offered to the Pope what he did offer—that is to say, in fact, the relinquishment of all the designs he had followed since 1807—in exchange for such slender advantages? He was convinced that from the Consecration of the King of Rome would result the obligation for all the kings of Europe to maintain him on his throne, and that this would insure the continuance of his dynasty. All the labour which I have recorded is, besides, only explicable by the fact that Napoleon set out with an almost mystical idea and conviction that a Consecration stamps on him who receives it the character of sovereign, and that by this alone he is raised above the heads of other men. And how could he have come by this conviction so as to apply its effects to his son if he had not directly and personally experienced it himself? How many times was this complaint repeated at St. Helena! How many times did he not bring up against the unjust English the Consecration and Coronation which had placed him above the common race of men and had raised him into a rank from which no one was able to dethrone him!

Was there any affectation in this? Was he playing a part? Did he believe what he said? Why not? Is it not known how quickly a man accustoms himself to the most extraordinary situations, and how quickly he absorbs their tone and spirit? It is not necessary that the title should be authentic in order that he who has possessed himself of it should recognise his proud position and take the keenest delight in it. The arms he bore were usurped, and he knew it: but he was not the less satisfied with them. He found it quite natural that the title of *Prince* should be given to him, and *Highness* by itself seemed paltry. But what was he after all? None of the things he affected to be; but his state of mind had become such that he would have been greatly astounded and deeply hurt if he had been reminded from whence he sprang and what his correct title should be. A strange kind of aberration was developed in his mind; on one point he ceased to keep in touch with reality, and he took for truths the fictions which he had invented himself; he walked in his own dream and none was able to awaken him. If such intoxication before an empty glass could come over a man who in no way resembled Napoleon, why should the drunkenness be less profound of him who had drained deep cups of glory? Why should not Napoleon in his life of Prodigies have acquired and kept the opinion that he was a Prodigy himself? Why should not the man who believed in

Destiny have formed the conviction that this Providential destiny had been recognised by the interpreter of the Godhead and that the Consecration had been the affirmation of it? Thenceforward it is impossible not to see that Napoleon—convinced that he was a sovereign and had acquired by the Consecration the character and state of sovereignty—considered himself the equal of the other sovereigns and relinquished the idea that he could only be their enemy to assume a second—that he could not only live at peace with them, but could enter into their alliances, penetrate into their family circles and become their brother. The Revolution from whence he sprang, and of which he was the product, was abolished by the Consecration. France had renewed her dynasty: after the Capetians came the Napoleons. Were there not sovereigns in Europe whose dynasties were almost as recent, who owed their crown to a series of assassinations and whose titles rested on the acclamation of a few hired regiments? Why they and not him? What was the difference between them and him? Why were they sought after rather than he? If fresh victories were necessary to abase their pride, he would win them, but thenceforward there was no reason why they should not associate on an equality and enter into friendship. For such was his belief.

It may be thought that such impressions were derived at once from the Consecration which hallowed them, the Imperialism which was their source, and the inward feeling of Napoleon that he was born to command; but without the Consecration, at least as far as the equality of origin was concerned, they would not have reached such a state of development. As to the quality of authority, the mistake was similar but inverse.

Napoleon was aware of his Imperial power, he knew and felt himself dictator, he acted as such in his absolutism, and he had the disposal of all the strength and resources of the nation. He was under no obligation to take counsel concerning his policy, as he was himself to say: "Having always followed his own decision he has no excuse for laying a fault upon any one else." From this conception of authority, which he applied, not only to that exercised by himself but to that exercised by men endued with a title similar or analogous to his own, sprang the greater part of the errors which he committed in his foreign policy. He had treated personally with the Pope, at Paris, he had obtained from him concessions of a certain kind—such as the Pope at Rome had refused. He remained convinced that he exercised a decisive influence over the Pope and that the Pope would thenceforth walk in the way he appointed. The Pope seemed to him to be an absolute sovereign such as he was himself in his own Empire, that he had only to speak to be obeyed. However, after the return of the Pope to Rome he met with the same resistance that he had experienced during the negotiation for the Coronation, and he met with it continually in his quarrel with Pius VII—except at Fontainebleau in January, 1813, when he was once more able to treat with him personally, but two months afterwards the Pope repudiated his signature and openly went back upon his word. This absolute sovereign was in reality the prisoner of the Sacred College. The Cardinals were his masters, he hesitated and trembled before them and could exercise his supposed infallibility only when it served the hates, passions, and superstitions of a camarilla which hands down throughout the ages the secret of good doctrines. And it was the same at Tilsit, and after Tilsit, with the Emperor Alexander, whom he believed to be an absolute sovereign because Alexander bore the title of Autocrat ; it was the same with his Sacred Imperial Majesty the Emperor Francis after the Austrian marriage. Whether it was as now the College of Cardinals, or as then a union of family and aristocratic interests, mattered little : the sovereign was in leading-strings and had only the appearance of authority. Even if he sincerely wished it he was dependent upon those who did not wish it, and, whether he liked it or not, he followed their lead. Napoleon thought that he was treating with one such as himself, whereas in reality he was only treating with the irresponsible and perhaps unwitting representative of the oligarchs who pushed forward the crowned puppet and made him exchange signatures and oaths which counted for nothing. The sovereigns of Europe—whether Pope or Emperors—were the agents of an aristocracy which varied its procedure according to the different countries, but which everywhere pursued the same design—the humiliation of France and the destruction of the work of the Revolution. Of this work, Bonaparte, whatever he might do, remained the chief constructor ; accordingly with him no agreement was possible ; on one side as on the other agreement would mean abdication and suicide. Napoleon could attempt to associate himself with kings, to enter their family circles, and to graft his brother, his adopted son, the distant relations of Josephine and himself upon them; but he could not associate with the aristocrats. They engaged lackeys, whom they paid for open or secret service on the condition of their possessing the qualifications required of them; but they would never have submitted to a master, and such was Bonaparte. What was it to them that Napoleon had or had not been consecrated by the Supreme Pontiff of the Catholics? They had no religion in common: Catholics at Rome and Vienna, Lutherans at Berlin, Orthodox at Petersburg, and Anglicans at London—they held by no dogma or morality, some of them by no country. They formed a Federation which, in Continental Europe at least, exchanged alliances, entered into relationships, and carried on intrigues across frontiers of which it reckoned little and in spite of disguises which were assumed at certain times by some of its members. It mattered little: the Federation would find them staunch when the moment came, and moreover, were they not always its servants? It had spies in the enemy's camp who were paid by the enemy: a twofold advantage.

Until the coming of Napoleon some reliance could be felt in coalitions between the sovereigns and the French Governments. The sovereigns have asked for peace and the Governments have treated for alliances. So the matter is then settled? By no means: never will the aristocrats make peace with the Revolution, never will they ally themselves to Bonaparte. They desire him to be, not vanquished only but overthrown and in chains, a captive lion before whose cage they may display their hatred and derision.

Nothing that is signed, promised, or sworn by kings, emperors, or the Pope is valid without the counter-signature of the aristocrats; and never will they give it.

Thus Napoleon, who because he was supreme believed that all the other monarchs were such as himself, that their word was valid and their authority real, pledging himself to one and to another of them, became their intended dupe, and the first deception practised upon him was one to which he offered himself as a victim—the Consecration!

* * *

How many contradictions, hesitations, and abortive manœuvres there are in this Consecration! It is vain to seek a reason for certain acts. Is there a reason? For instance, the consecration and coronation of Josephine. It was a whim. That Napoleon wished to vex his brothers and sisters, that he intended to redeem the wrongs done to his wife by associating her in his glory—these are not reasons. There were none, not even an historical excuse. If Napoleon had opened the history of France, he would have seen that the coronation of queens had been discontinued for two centuries. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries several queens were crowned, from Blanche of Castile, wife of Louis VIII, to Jeanne de Bourbon, first wife of Charles V; thenceforward for 250 years, from 1364 to 1610, there was no coronation of a queen. Marie de Médicis was an exception, and this solitary example was not very encouraging. Even admitting that she took no part in the affair of the Rue de la Ferronerie, the coincidence was too startling for there to be much desire to renew such ceremonies while the Bourbons were on the throne: there was no coronation, therefore, for Anne of Austria, Maria-Theresa of Austria, Marie-Leczinska and Marie-Antoinette. The last-named was present but did not take part in the consecration of Louis XVI. Thus there was not even the excuse of the re-establishment of one of the traditional ceremonies by which Napoleon sought to create a link between the old and new form of government.

Still more decided was the inconsistency between the two positions which he offered to Josephine: he crowned but he did not intend to marry her. Was one of these ties less powerful than the other? In order that the Pope might consecrate Josephine it was necessary that he should be ignorant of the fact that she was not married. What a mortification if the Pope were to hear of it before the Coronation! If afterwards, what a scandal! And Napoleon did not think of this. He certainly established an intercourse between Josephine and the Pope, and managed the affair cleverly. They wrote letters and briefs, exchanged presents, and complimented each other by correspondence. But it was a long way from a mantelpiece or a rosary to a Sacrament. The Pope was scrupulous; even if he had not been he would have had to observe the proprieties; the Supreme Pontiff of the Catholics, he could not have knowingly infringed one of the fundamental laws of the Catholic discipline. Deceive him? It was useless, besides being dangerous. What would it lead to? In legislation and politics Napoleon subordinated everything to these two considerations: Is it just? Is it advantageous? Here in both cases the answer was: No. Yet how was it that he did not take into consideration the fact that, if it was dangerous to deceive the Pope, and grave inconveniences might arise thereby, a success—supposing he were successful—thus gained by trickery would not be less prejudical to Napoleon himself and to Josephine? To himself because, in this way, for the tie of a religious marriage which he would have shunned there would be substituted the tie of the Coronation—and which was the stronger? If at any time he acquired the proof that he was capable of having children, if he wished for political reasons to contract a marriage for which "his Destiny" might qualify him, his obligations towards Josephine would assume a different character; they would be considerably narrowed and would compel him to a very different display of feelings. And Josephine also? On the heights to which he had drawn her she was conspicuous to all, and although the society which had passed through the Revolution was scarcely fastidious, yet for all that it could not help gossiping about what Josephine had done. Little was known of her lovers before 1786—all that was obscure and escaped the notice of the scandal-mongers. The separation from Beauharnais was known, and that was all. But after 1788 her adventures were far more famous, and she had frequented a society which had attracted a good deal of attention. She had lived with well-known men who were celebrated, even illustrious—while at the same time she had engaged in certain vulgar and degrading intrigues. The most casual investigation of her past would reveal some strange personages with whom she had had all kinds of affairs. Was it not a most astonishing and useless piece of bravado to present such a woman to the nation in the most august of ceremonies, to consecrate and crown her? If Napoleon was not aware of all her career, he knew enough of it and had suffered enough from it to have no doubt at least concerning the later episodes. What advantage was there in adding to the numerous enmities he had incurred and criticisms that he ignored a ridicule which he was bringing upon himself? By this he would show what contempt he felt for the world and even the half-world; thus, by the apotheosis of an adventuress whose career was notorious to all Paris, he would arouse the laughter of those to whose opinions he seemed to attach more importance. That he should delight in astonishing the world was excellent, but what was the use in setting himself to flout it? Upon his glory, which aroused wonder, devotion, and hatred, but at which no one was tempted to mock, he engrafted a scandal that excited merriment. Why? Doubtless because he had no sense of humour. He calmly did what no Parisian, no European, would have dared. It was enough that the woman was pleasing to him and that he had chosen her. He ignored the respect of mankind and cared nothing for public opinion. It is comprehensible that he did not shrink from crowning her, but what were his reasons for doing so?

With regard to the Pope there were inconsistencies of the same kind and as inexplicable. There is no doubt that he had keenly desired the coming of the Pope to Paris, that he had employed every kind of promise to bring about his journey; his subordinates have emphasised and exaggerated his words, but he had spoken them. He was not the man to allow such notes as Talleyrand's to be sent off without having corrected them, or to receive such letters as those of Fesch without reading them. Whatever entered the Foreign Office went straight to his cabinet. He knew everything, and his subordinates did not venture to make amplifications without his orders. Then, he had wished for the Pope and entered into engagements with him of which, if he had strictly kept those appertaining merely to form and etiquette, he would have been able to infringe the rest that he did carry out and fulfil. It seemed as though he took a sort of vanity in affronting in his Court the Pope whom he had brought thither, that he endeavoured to lower, humiliate, and put him in an inferior position. On every occasion he, the host, took the precedence of his guest. He gave him entertainments which the slightest sense of decorum would have forbidden. He made him—the Pope—dine with his family like a citizen entertaining his vicar. He gave him horses for his return into Italy and mapped out the route which he was to follow in such a way as to prevent him arriving in a large town at the time of the Easter festival. It seemed as though he were jesting at the expense of the Pope; yet he loved him all the same and thought that he had won him over—which was, perhaps, true. Since he had asked the Pope to crown him, it was doubtless because he held him to be the representative of the highest religious authority; accordingly to heighten the influence of the Consecration he should have placed the Pope who conferred it above all mankind, have made him a messenger of God expressly descended from the seven hills. So much the more he should have lavished honours upon him and surrounded him with respect and adoration. All this would have been politic and, without making any precedent, could have been carried out at the Court, beyond the sight of the populace, and would have given an opportunity, under pretext of preserving his dignity, to prevent too frequent a contact between the Pope and the faithful. He thought nothing of this. The Pope's stay bored and wearied him, and he showed it; it offended his pride to give the Pope precedence, so he took it himself; he demanded his presence whether he had need of him or not; never for a moment had he a sense of what he owed him as Emperor, nor when he had received the Consecration from him of what he owed him as a believer—and yet the Consecration was valid only if he were a Catholic. Bad education and want of breeding? Perhaps; yet he knew well enough if necessary. Whim and caprice more likely? Partly at least. With other members of his family this tendency was clearer and far more distinct—the characteristic meanness and incivility, the unconquerable aversion to being bored, the aptness to suddenly break off a scheme and the impossibility of self-restraint. With him there was less of this, yet at certain tragic epochs of his history does not something show itself, something which is excused and explained, but which, in reality, springs from that same kind of nature and disposition?

And at the same time he expected much from the Pope whom he thus treated like a glass which is broken after being emptied: he hoped for a number of future honours and was astonished that they were refused to him, that his desires were not anticipated, and that he was shunned and opposed.

Ah! strange man! The more he is studied and examined, the more numerous become the problems. Is it not that when search is made for profound reasons and thought-out designs it is often necessary to be satisfied with the workings of an impulsive temperament swayed by affection, anger, and ill-humour, and which mingles spontaneous and unguarded actions with weighed and reasoned resolutions? Perhaps this is even one of the most fascinating sides of his genius, and not the least instructive, only, how to set apart and recognise these acts? In a few cases some certainty can be attained, but more often in the moment of concluding and forming an opinion you hesitate and correct yourself. In that kind of history which endeavours to lay bare causes and looks upon facts as material for the investigation of certain personalities there is continual searching, frequent error, and uncertain success. But at least it is ennobled by the study of such a man and becomes, once its deceptive delights are tasted, the sole obsession of a writer thirsting for the truth.

FRÉDÉRIC MASSON

December 2, 1907.

The Coronation of Napoleon and his Consecration by the Pope

CHAPTER I

FROM TOULON TO NOTRE DAME

The route followed—Landing at Marseilles in June, 1793—In open civil war—The Girondins and their Government—Why the Army decided against them—Bonaparte's deliberation—*The Supper of Beaucaire*—First attempts as a journalist—First achievements as an artillery-man—Bonaparte thrown into the arms of the party of the Mountain—Imprisonment—The Army of the West—The Convention's need for a soldier—Barras—Recognising his own limitations he wishes for an assistant—Bonaparte accepts—The 10th of August: Vendémiaire 13th—He would have saved the Monarchy, he does save the Convention—The surroundings among which he lived—Obligations contracted by him—In Italy he remains the debtor as well as the subordinate of the Convention—Fructidor 18th—The Army and the ex-Conventionels—Why the Armies declared for them—Return from Italy—The golden gate—Egypt—France in miniature—What he intended doing in the East—St. John of Acre an insurmountable obstacle to his designs—Return to Paris—What his brothers had done in his absence—How they proved useful—Bonaparte in the eyes of the Parliamentary world—The provisional Consulate—Why the Constitution of the year VIII took this form—Who made it—How the First Consul happened to concentrate dictatorial powers—End aimed at by the framers of the Constitution—Their ignorance of Bonaparte's plans.

Method of administration adopted by the First Consul—*The Plodders* of the old Monarchy—The Parties—The Montagnards—The Anarchists—The Royalists—The Catholics—The reconciliation with the Revolution—Rupture with the Royalists—They recognise a formidable enemy—They wish to kill him—Their understanding with the Anarchists—Bonaparte under the knife—Every attempt is accompanied by an increase of his popularity—It is justified by his work—His work displeasing to the Anarchists because it tends to subordination—The *Coup d'État* of the year X—Its principal object the validation of the Concordat—If they had not been irreconcilably opposed to every measure of Bonaparte's, the Parliamentarians would have been able to discuss the Concordat with profit—What they would have been able to say—How the Concordat destroyed the Gallican Church—Rights that it was necessary to preserve—Bonaparte had intended to defend them—Necessity he found himself under of concluding the Concordat and breaking the alliance between the clergy and the Bourbons—Stupidity of his opposers—What the Gallicans thought—The Organic Laws—Bonaparte counts on the clergy—His illusions on that subject—Was not Bonaparte in the matter of the Concordat swayed only by political reasons?

The Concordat brings about a fresh outbreak of conspiracies—The opinion of Louis XVIII—He lost his best weapons—The last effort of the Royalists—Bonaparte unwilling to proclaim a state of siege—He was wrong—The proper way of looking at the execution of the Duc d'Enghien—A declared vendetta—The doctrine of reprisals—The violation of the right of nations.

EARLY in June, 1793, an artillery-captain arrived in Marseilles from Corsica. He was a thin, hungry-looking little man, who had lately become a French citizen in expectation of the advantages to be obtained by assuming that nationality. In his own country he had received such a check to his ambitions as had forced him to turn them in a more promising direction; for he had excited envy by his youth, offence by his presumption, and suspicion by his earlier career. Over-estimating his own strength, he had hoped to carry all before him by sheer audacity, but everywhere he had met with opponents subtler, warier, and more powerful than himself. A crowning folly on the part of one of his brothers had forced him to leave the country and cross over into France, which he found plunged in the middle of a civil war.

It was doubtful which side he would take, for it was uncertain which party would prove victorious —Paris or the Provinces, the Montagnards or the Girondins. The former party, who were the extremists, had subdued France to their intolerable tyranny, and were setting up amidst the growing confusion a Government so impossible that its members, wholly at variance among themselves, began cutting each other's throats even before their power had been thoroughly consolidated. The Girondins had assumed the policy of moderation; but when in power, they had themselves promoted, by their unscrupulous greed and rancour, those very measures against the results of which they were now in arms. They had favoured the Parisian party, and, though thinking themselves its leaders, had been really guided by it. They had trumped up false accusations against the ministers who had preceded them; they had cheapened the prestige of authority, and begun the religious persecutions; they had smoothed the way for the downfall of the Royal Family, and had allowed, if not encouraged, the massacres of prisoners; they had joined in the condemnation of the King, and had agreed to all the laws destructive of personal security.

These so-called Liberals had shown themselves to be, at the same time, both timid rulers and the worst enemies of freedom. At last, when the seed of their actions had borne its proper fruit, stripped of their power and in terror of their lives, they had attempted resistance. But the party whose usurpation they had supported, whose success they had acclaimed, and whose wrong-doing they had connived at, proceeded to attack the Departmental Guard which the Girondins had called into a shadowy existence. The Montagnards had force upon their side, and they did not scruple to make use of it. They compelled even the frightened Convention to condemn the leaders of the majority, and to place the supreme power in the hands of the minority, who were their obedient followers. The Moderates stirred up a revolt in the Departments where they were still powerful and held the reins of government in their own hands. Seventy-three of the Departments declared for them. Thereupon the Montagnards called upon the army in the name of the Unity which the Girondins had broken, the Freedom which they had destroyed, and the Nation which they had endangered. The Army, with the exception of a few officers, readily obeyed their call, and rightly; for this "Revolt for Federalism"—as it was called—though it seemed at first to be both Republican and National, afterwards became Royalist in its aims, and was thus inevitably drawn into connection with the network of foreign plots and intrigues. The matter was bearable as long as the quarrel was between Frenchmen only; even if it came to blows, it was but party strife. But when the foreigner joined in the affray, the people were driven to make common cause and fall upon him immediately. All who did not offer themselves for service were traitors and accomplices of the enemy.

If there had been any uncertainty about this in the revolt of Lyons, or in the risings at Caen or Marseilles, all doubt vanished in the case of Toulon; for the white flag had actually been hoisted there by the help of the English, Neapolitan, and Spanish foreigners, while the fleet and arsenal had been surrendered to them. Thenceforward the conflict became no longer a party insurrection or a civil war but a struggle to preserve the national territory in its entirety. Every true patriot—and the Army was patriotic to the core—was ready to march immediately against "the hordes of foreigners" and the betrayers of their native land. Not a single soldier followed Dumouriez, or joined Wimpffen or Précy. None went over to the Federal Army in the Department of des Bouches-du-Rhône, or deserted to Toulon. Such conduct affords a most striking proof of the patriotic spirit of the nation. Less than six months before these men had been all-powerful and all-controlling. They had declared war upon the Emperor and the Empire, and were looked upon as patriots above all reproach. They had chosen their own generals, and appointed their friends members of the local governments. They had formed a majority in the Convention, and passed whatever measures they desired. The insurrection of the Parisian Party against them had been considered a crime and condemned as such by all law-abiding citizens. But now a single suspicion had been enough to destroy all confidence in them. As soon as it was believed that the National Unity was threatened, that the foreigner was interfering in these quarrels and taking advantage of them, their power and authority were gone, and their forces melted away. The minority in the Convention, led by the Parisian Party, found, on assuming the entire control of the national defences, that they had to deal with only the avowed Royalists and their allies of the Coalition.

On Bonaparte's arrival from Corsica, events had not yet taken this definite direction, nor had their course of action become plain to all patriotic men. The struggle was still between Frenchmen, between the Republicans of the Right and Left, and hesitation was pardonable. But his choice was taken immediately. On the one side he saw energy, organisation, and progress ; on the other, confusion, hesitation, and parliamentary timidity. Yet for all that he set down in writing the reasons for his opinions and gave them to the public. In his *Souper de Beaucaire* he endeavours to set forth the different opinions of a citizen of Nîmes, of a Marseillais, a soldier, and a Montpellier manufacturer, pressing home his unflinching logic against each of the disputers. He discloses the abyss towards which the Federalists of Marseilles are tending, affirms the Unity of the Nation, and ends by asserting the necessity of rallying around the Convention. On the completion of his book he hurried to the front.

These were his first actions on arriving in France. Thus he started by writing as a pamphleteer, and produced a pamphlet so useful and convincing that the representatives of the People had it twice reprinted at Avignon in order to distribute it throughout the South of France. They were just in their appreciation, for the work is clear, vigorous, and devoid of rhetoric; always to the point, and comprehensible by all. It is the work of a mathematician arguing on a problem with clear and well-demonstrated conclusions. His opinion is founded on reasoning, it is by reasoning that he becomes a supporter of the Convention, and it was reasoning, doubtless, which caused him to exchange the Corsican for the French nationality. Given to writing and publishing what he wrote as he was—for he was a born journalist and remained such all his life—he did not count on making a career thereby. Writing was only a single side of his activity. When other opportunities of action were offered to him he seized upon them, and reserved his pen as a cherished weapon for more particular and intricate affairs. No one has wielded this weapon as he did, with such a display of vigorous acuteness, satiric irony and eloquence, yet subduing these powers to await the moment best suited to his purpose and ambitions.

But at the present it is the artillery officer, and not the journalist, with whom we have to deal. On reaching Toulon he fortunately found himself in a position of some importance, thanks to the lack of officers and the friendship of a fellow-countryman, who was a representative of the People. He served with distinction, gained three steps of promotion in four months, was appointed Brigadier, and was looked upon as a rising officer. But his success was only one among many. The

Montagnards, nationalised by their resistance to the foreigner and their victory over the legal representatives of the nation who had turned rebels, were, as regards their manner of government, only inferior by reason of the means they employed and the officials who applied, called forth, or forestalled their decrees. Although he had been made General and was an ardent militarist, Bonaparte was none the less attached to the Montagnards in the Convention, who, together with the revolutionary Watch Committees, governed by the two instruments of denunciation and fear. So deeply was he committed to that party, that Robespierre the younger had marked him out for a position of trust, and, in the reaction of Thermidor, he ran great risk of being regarded as one of the accomplices of the "Sea-green Incorruptible." He escaped, however, thanks again to certain Montagnards who were, however, opponents of the elder Robespierre; thanks also to another Corsican—for Corsicans played an important part in all this portion of his history. However, he was recalled from the south to take part in the war which was being waged in the west. This was a war fought out in ditches and narrow lanes, affording no opportunities for brilliant strategy, and where the officers, especially of artillery, ran a continual risk of losing their lives and reputations without the counterbalancing chances of gaining glory, or even honour. Napoleon hesitated to exchange from the artillery into another branch of the service, and to command a brigade of mere foot-soldiers. He shuffled and delayed, sought to escape the situation by entering a public office, and even thought of trying his fortune farther afield in the Turkish seaports of the Levant or in Turkey, as he had once before thought of Russia.

Suddenly the ruling Montagnards and Conventionels found themselves in need of a soldier who would serve them faithfully and implicitly—a man of sufficient strength to carry out their purpose yet of too low a rank to become their rival. In Thermidor of 1794 speech-making and the passing of decrees, the mere threat of the law and of such a General as Barras, with a few constabulary, had been enough to overthrow Robespierre and his friends in their retreat at the Town Hall, or General Henriot when he galloped half drunk through the streets without finding a single beggar to follow him. But even then without the constabulary the event might have proved different. Now it was a more serious matter. The members of the Convention who still remained after sitting for three years and cutting each other's throats had presented the country with a workable Constitution, though any Constitution depends for success, not so much on its intrinsic merit as on the method of its application. But the members intended also to force certain additional decrees, which they had already passed, upon the nation. According to these they were still to control the legislative power for at least one year and the executive for three. Paris wished for the Constitution, but not the Conventionels. Almost the whole country was prepared to stand by the capital, which had declared against the Extremists for the first time since August, 1791. The neighbouring departments supported the resolutions passed by their electoral Assemblies. A violent reaction set in against the Terrorists—a reaction which, though signalised in places by murder and outrages, found a more legitimate vent in urging on the electorate to demand their right of free representation. All Paris was in arms, forces were pouring in from every section, and there was no one to oppose them. Terrorist troops, which had been formerly disbanded, were hastily rearmed; retired officers who had applied, like Bonaparte, to be put upon the active list again were reinstated and badly equipped. There were a certain number of soldiers, but it was doubtful whether they would fire, or whether their officers, who were parleying with the rebels, were not preparing to change sides by throwing up their commissions and going over to the enemy. Firearms and ammunition were distributed to the supporters of the Convention who, surrounded in the Tuileries, were prepared to receive the attack of the Sovereign People very differently from the way which Louis XVI had done. But this time "the People" were not the men of Marseilles and Brest, but the Parisian mob. Besides, were the People really sovereign as soon as they ceased supporting the extreme party?

Still, there was no suitable commander; for Barras the Dictator, although a good enough man on such occasions as that of Thermidor, or for military reviews, would not trust himself in any struggle likely to prove serious. He did not, indeed, lack courage, for he had formerly shown considerable proofs of it; but he had acquired nothing in his campaigns in India, and even at Toulon, except the dandyism of an *aide-de-camp,* a delight in cocked hats, and the resolute determination to get himself made General. About his real military talents he had not the slightest illusion. On the 12th of Germinal in the year III, when there was reason to be apprehensive of the Jacobins, he had presided in the Convention. The Government joined Pichegru with him in office, but of his own accord he appointed Pichegru Commander-in-Chief. Although he was afterwards himself appointed "Commander of the forces for protecting the distribution of supplies," yet this was a civil rather than a military dictatorship, connected more with corn-stuffs than strategy. The present situation was far more serious, and the responsibility of it considerably graver, requiring a soldier possessed of energy, resolution, and tactical skill. Barras drew back; so, too, did all the generals whose rank and former services had designated them as suitable for the command. Several members then thought of little Buona-Parte. The Corsicans suggested him first, then some one who had seen him with the army in Italy and whose wife had patronised the young officer; lastly, he was recommended by Barras himself, who had known and helped him to promotion before Toulon.

Would he accept the post which others had refused? Would he dare to be the first since 1791 to oppose the Sovereign People? Would he make use of the force necessary for the purpose? There was no reason why he should not, for he stood in no superstitous awe of the revolutionary mob of Paris, nor did he believe it to be invincible. The opportunity had come of distinguishing himself above the common crowd, and of forcing himself to be looked upon as an indispensable personage. Besides this, the further opportunity offered of crushing the spell under which the Parisians had oppressed all France during the last six years, and of avenging the soldier upon the civilian.

Four years before, he had seen, from the Carrousel, "the dirty mob" attack the palace. That same evening he had written to Joseph: "If the King had only shown himself on horseback, he would have gained the day." If Louis XVI, through a flash of masterly intuition, or by one of those lucky chances that come to fortunate men, had called to his assistance the little artillery-lieutenant who was looking on at the preparations for battle from the window of Fauvelet-Bourrienne's pawn-shop, that officer would have responded willingly, and have saved the Throne even as he was now about to save the Convention. It would even have been the easiest task of the two. "The King," he wrote, "had fully as many troops at his disposal as the Convention had on the 13th of Vendémiaire, and the enemies of the Convention were far more formidable and better disciplined." The question was one of determination rather than power, and Napoleon had plenty of determination. The object he aimed at was to win the engagement, and he pressed towards this end without any hesitation or scruples concerning the means which he employed. In a single hour the face of things was changed. Orders were given rapidly, and the defence became no longer civil but military. The rising was crushed, not so much because the attacking National Guards were swept through with grape-shot close by Saint-Roch, or in the Rue

Nicaise, or at the Pont Royal, but because the guns, under the orders of the young commander, had been most skilfully placed, and the gunners at his command had not hesitated to apply their matches to the touch-holes.

After that Napoleon rose rapidly. If he had won this success on the 10th of August and not on the 13th Vendémiaire, he would have found himself the servant of the Throne instead of, as he now was, the servant of the Convention. It was the men of the Convention who had chosen him out for promotion and advancement, and who were bound henceforward to furnish him with the opportunities of employing his military talent on the field of action and showing what a soldier he was. He had, besides, no other connections at Paris and no opportunity of engaging or allying himself with another party. The members of the Convention were his only friends. Barras had drawn him from obscurity, made him second in command to himself, then Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Interior, promoted him next to be General of a Division, married him to his own mistress, Josephine de Beauharnais, and lastly appointed him to command the army in Italy.

He found his wife, Josephine, a member of the same circle. Barras and Tallien were the witnesses to his marriage. There were also a few turncoat Royalists who had rallied to the Republic, and a good many ladies whose chief aims were to lead a life of pleasure and procure themselves wealthy lovers—mere courtesans whom the dazzled young Corsican took for women of the world. All this society was engaged in paying court to the coming man whose patronage and favour they sought, but whom they freely slandered behind his back.

During the Italian campaigns, in which he established his reputation and acquired a world-wide renown, and in which he played the part of a conqueror and deliverer, he was in reality only an officer under the command of those who held the executive power in France. It is true they would have hesitated to deprive him of his command, but if they had done so he would have been obliged to obey. On the other hand, he knew that they had need of him, and, when any difficulty was put in his way, he threatened to throw up his commission; but this was the only power he had over them. Whatever services he did the Directors, whatever help he gave them, he was still dependent on them for moral and material support. His fortune was linked with theirs, and their enemies were his. In Vendémiaire of the year IV he had triumphed in the name of the Convention and to its advantage. Nearly two years later, when the former members of that body again found themselves in difficulties, they once more summoned him to their rescue. The Convention had been unable to impose its control indefinitely upon the country. The executive power was assured to it for three years, the legislative for one; more than that the members did not dare to demand.

According to the Constitution the members of the two Councils were to be replaced a third at a time. The Convention had supplied the two-thirds who resigned in the years V and VI; one-third, already reactionary but pretending to call themselves Republican, had been elected in the year IV; a second third, elected in the year V, was more pronouncedly so; what would the third be like? A majority was not certain even in the Directory, for it depended upon a single vote. For want of Hoche, who was worn out, but who nevertheless sent soldiers to assist them, the former members of the Convention appealed to Bonaparte. Napoleon not only supported them in the ardent proclamations issued from his victorious army, but, sending Augereau to carry out their wishes, he purged the Directory and the Councils in such a way that there were left in them only the supporters of the right party.

His intention in doing this was not merely political; he had better reasons to justify him.

The Montagnards had set on foot the National Defence, and persisted in its maintenance, even by means of the Terror, recognising that they must either perish or conquer. The whole Army, with the exception of a few political generals, had recognised this also and remained consistently loyal to them. The soldiers, like the Montagnards, were desirous to conquer—first of all for the sake of their country, and secondly for themselves. The generals had no wish to be degraded once more to the rank of sergeants, and the common soldiers of the old Royal Army who now formed the rank and file of the new had gained greatly by the Revolution. But besides the rousing words of the proclamations there were facts that convinced. With incredible stupidity the politicians of the Councils and the club-men of Clichy, with the journalists who followed them, had fallen foul of the Army. The skins of the heroes of Italy were remarkably thin, and the paltriest epigram made a rankling wound. "They had expected triumphal crowns," said Bugeaud, "but they were greeted with the contents of chamber-pots." The meanness of the reproaches levelled against them was only equalled by the extravagance of their falsehood. At every engagement the French Republicans were said to have been beaten, routed, and annihilated. Their enemies were heroes, although they happened to be murderers. The massacres at Verona were honourable, and their repression was a crime. Everything possible was done to exasperate the soldiers of their country, and to show them that a struggle to the death, in which either or both must succumb, was inevitable between the defenders of the independence and sovereignty of the nation and the Royalists who would very shortly come into power. The same anger, surprise, and determination were apparent both in the army of the Sambre-et-Meuse and the army of Italy. Bonaparte perhaps helped to swell the torrent, but no general could have avoided it. The *Coup d'État* of Fructidor, at least in its beginning, was entirely a patriotic revolt engineered by the soldiers against the counter-Revolution which was prompted and supported by the foreigner. Bonaparte was neither the author nor the promoter of it, but he openly associated himself with the movement, and assisted it with energy. He could not have acted otherwise without losing all his popularity with the soldiers and forfeiting all influence over them, besides making himself suspected of betraying his country.

After his return from Italy he sometimes seemed inclined to seek for some excuse to sever his fortune from that of his former patrons. He did not object to hear some of their actions freely criticised. But, in spite of Campo Formio, he was not yet able to do without them. He was very far from maintaining in the Rue Chantereine the same state that he had enjoyed at Mombello. There were no more princes, ambassadors, and cardinals begging for peace; no more peoples awaiting at his hand Constitutions guaranteeing their liberty and independence; there was no longer a Court to which every official pressed, and where he was accustomed to the deepest respect. Certainly he was given a hearty welcome and accorded official distinctions, while the street in which he lived was decorated in triumph. His popularity was indeed great, and all society would crowd to see him at a ball. But this was not likely to last long in Paris. A singer's voice, the escapades of a young lady, a dirty novel, or a sensational murder, made as good material for gossip as a general's victories—better even, and were less easily exhausted. Except his election to the membership of the Institute—in the place of Carnot, who had been outlawed in Fructidor—Bonaparte gained nothing in Paris, and left it with a haste equal to that made by his old friends to procure his departure. He sought for some glorious enterprise, and Egypt suggested itself. But the means were first necessary: he had need of ships, soldiers, a commissariat, and all the military equipment of which the Government held the key. He asked also for scientists, painters, engineers, and poets. There was no stinting him. He chose and suggested; but the Directory decided and paid.

He carried in his train a France in miniature, a France in which every person was of value to the Commonwealth, if not the first in his department, a perfected France in which talent was as conspicuous as courage, and which, if the larger community had perished, could have reproduced all its essential qualities. Over this miniature France he could put into practice his ideas of government more freely than he had done in Italy. Perhaps he had intended, if Fortune proved favourable, to have fixed his future in the East and have realised his dream. Who can tell? It is no commonplace soul that is attracted by the destiny of Alexander! Supposing Napoleon had set out from his base in Egypt "to throw an army of 60,000 men across the Indus, to arouse the Mahrattas and conquer India"; supposing he had founded an Empire stretching from the Nile to the Ganges, and from the Mediterranean to the Sea of China, thus equalling at the least the gigantic Persian, Macedonian, Arabian, and Mongol conquerors who had preceded him in the same ambitions, would he not then have glutted his soul with the glory for which it longed, or would his name have been less deeply burnt upon the pages of history, and his career have seemed to posterity less astonishing and more empty?

All this passed through his mind, and haunted him as far as St. John of Acre. "If this place had been taken," he said, "the French army would have flown to Damascus and Aleppo, and have reached the Euphrates in an instant. The Druses and the Christians of Syria and Armenia would have made common cause with us; the nations would have been staggered. Our reinforcements would have amounted to 600,000 men. I would have taken Constantinople and India, and have changed the face of the world."

But however much his dream appealed to him, and however near he came to realising it, he did not sever himself from France. Whether it was that he was restrained by the necessity of sending for reinforcements and the loyalty of his troops to the Republic—for neither officers nor men were yet entirely devoted to him, and he had to deal with several cases of insubordination, not to say mutiny, among them—or that he wished to provide for himself, in case of defeat or an insuperable check, the means of retrieving on another stage the fortune which escaped him in Egypt—whatever the reason might be, he still kept up a connection and alliance with the Directory and the Councils, through his wife and brothers whom he had left in Paris. Josephine was often in the company of Barras, Rewbell, and Gohier. Doubtless she had not much affection for her absent husband, from whom she was thinking of obtaining a divorce, and whom she continually deceived. But the different connections into which she had entered were likely to prove useful to him on his return. Joseph and Lucien, fighting for their own hands, had become influential in the Councils; the power of the one lay in the lobbies, of the other in the tribune. They were deeply concerned in the official and political world, where clever men were scarce, owing to the decimations of the last six years, from 1792 to the year IV. Of the 1,080 members and deputies elected to the Convention, 151 had disappeared, died, been executed, murdered, or committed suicide. Again, in Fructidor of the year V it had been skimmed of every new-comer who was offensive to the mediocrities in office. Since then it had been recruited only with puppets favourable to the Republican block who could inspire neither envy nor suspicion. In this lifeless assembly, such as is always produced in a democracy when the official candidateship is utterly corrupt, the Bonapartes soon played an important part. Armed as they were with the money which Napoleon had brought back from Italy and entrusted to Joseph, they established themselves as in a conquered country. By hereditary descent and by constant exercise in the Corsican assemblies, they possessed a genius for the life of finesse and intrigue which is always the same in any assembly. This was well seen in Germinal of the year VII, when Lucien, for his own political interests, did what he would in the Councils, and obliged the majority of the Directors to resign or retire.

Weary of the East after his check at Acre, and perceiving there was a better part for him to play in Europe, Napoleon seemed on his arrival in Paris from Egypt to possess all the qualities of the strong man who had been wanted since 1792 to bring back both order and security to the country and discipline and subordination in the Government. He possessed these qualities in a greater degree than any of the other men who had attempted, either of their own accord or at the suggestions of their supporters, to play the dictator—than La Fayette, or Dumouriez, or Pichegru, or Hoche, or Augereau, or Bernadotte, or Joubert, or Jourdan. He came flushed with triumph and surrounded with the glamour of victory. But however much he dazzled the nation and the Army, he would have influenced the members of the Councils but little had it not been for Joseph and Lucien, who, without any thought for his return, had skilfully plotted to weaken the monstrous tyranny of the Legislative and to strengthen the Executive, which they were desirous of controlling. For public disinterestedness was here, as always, secondary to the advantage of the individual. Joseph was ready, in the absence of his brother Napoleon, who was abroad, to have come to an understanding with his brother-in-law, Bernadotte, who was at hand.

Between 1796 and 1799 Napoleon rose high in the estimation of the nation and his Army. In Italy and Egypt he had given proof of his capability as an organiser, an enforcer of peace, and as an arbitrator. He was by nature so well fitted to negotiate and compromise, to find out means of arriving at an agreement, that, in his first dealings with diplomats and even priests, he showed himself their equal, if not their master. Yet, if it had not been for his brothers he would have had to win over every person in the Government before attempting anything. The mere determination to bring about a *Coup d'État,* even with the support of the whole country, was not sufficient. The legal flaw had to be found by which to introduce it, the means be considered, allies discovered, the plan of action decided on, and the parts proportioned to the actors. But Napoleon was as new to civil matters as he had been six years before to military. When it was necessary to approach the Assemblies, where his way seemed to have been smoothed for him by Lucien and his friends, he proved noisily intemperate and awkward, lost his head, spoke ill and diffusely, and accomplished nothing. Before the Ancients in the Luxembourg he surprised and alarmed his supporters. Before the Five Hundred at St. Cloud he would have been lost without Lucien, Murat, and Leclerc. He even endangered the plot which had been so well laid. But Fortune again befriended him. He succeeded by his very blunders in shifting the plot from a parliamentary to a military basis. Accordingly, as General, he played the first part instead of the second or third, or perhaps even that of the simple commander of the forces.

Thenceforward he was installed as one of the three provisional Consuls, in a vague, uncertain office, where he served his apprenticeship with keen observation—for he had much to learn—and where he consulted on affairs with Sieyès and Roger Ducos, under the observation of the Commissioners appointed by the Ancients and the Five Hundred before their dissolution. But when he afterwards attained to supreme power above this Directory of three persons instead of five, was it by the premeditated effort of an ambition which had marked out its end, and was striving to achieve it by every possible means; or was it not rather by a combination of circumstances, from which he certainly profited, but which carried him away whether he was willing or not, and by the inevitable consequence of the measures which were occasioned by the continued renewal of the national powers of resistance?

Everything in this affair was interconnected and dependent; the premises being such, the results were inevitable. The renunciation of authority, which is the bond of every civilised community, and the dissolution of the Government which exercised authority, produced anarchy; and, in the same way, subordination resulted from the re-establishment of authority and its thorough application by the Government.

The members of the committees which had been appointed by the Councils to draw up the Constitution were far from being all of them friends of Napoleon, or the supporters of a centralised and authoritative Government; there were only veteran revolutionaries to be found among them. Some there were who had been the most eager in the Constituent Assembly to destroy the central authority, and to set up in every department, district, and township a parliamentary system such as would have frustrated all attempts at government and administration. Others, still jealous of such prerogatives as their predecessors had left to the Head of the executive power, had made it impossible for him to exercise them, either by bringing accusations against his ministers or by stirring up and excusing seditious outbreaks. Some of them had, in the Convention, demanded and pronounced the penalty of death against the holder of the unified royal power, and had then assured their own tyranny by suppressing all lawful administration, and by organising despotic denunciatory committees. Finally, the greater part of them, although they had individually opposed certain members of the Directory more for their private than the public interests, had constantly struggled against any measure which seemed in the least reactionary, or which might help to centralise the Government to the profit of the executive and the loss of the legislative power. If they had sometimes allowed, and even encouraged, the quashing of the elections of certain administrators who were disliked by the dictators, and their replacement by certain tools of the Directory, it was never the efficiency of the administration that they had at heart, but their own likes, dislikes, and advantages. Thus affairs in France had come to such a pass that the Government could only be carried on by makeshifts. Bankruptcy was the base of its financial system, and it was unable to secure for its citizens either freedom, safety, justice, property, industry, commerce, currency, education, or religion. In this utter disorder each individual was obliged to rely on his own energy for his defence. The Government would employ its tyrannical powers only against those who were believed to be its enemies. The branches of the Administration were in the same state. Each pulled differently, with the result that the country, without money or credit, or the means of ensuring the recruiting of the Army, or of arresting deserters, was put into grievous danger by the first defeat inflicted upon them. On the 9th of Messidor of the year VII the Directory declared to the Consuls and the country, in a solemn address, that "the Body Politic was threatened with total destruction unless it was immediately strengthened in every department of its organisation and activity."

For the moment there was urgent need of establishing unity in the Government and avoiding the barren discussions by which authority was lessened. It was necessary to set up a system of administration such as would allow the central Government to exercise its power and would secure to the citizens the normal conditions of social existence. Therefore, those members of the committees who were upright and clear-headed patriots turned from the fantasies which they had followed too long, and, by apparently entrusting the Government to three consuls appointed for ten years and indefinitely re-eligible, they set up in reality a ruler who was endowed with all the privileges of absolute power. For, whenever the second and third Consuls were summoned to a council, they possessed only a consultative voice in the Government. They could inscribe their opinions on a special register, "after which the decision of the First Consul is final."

The First Consul proposed and proclaimed the laws that were elaborated by a Council of State, whose members were chosen by himself. He issued the standing orders necessary for their execution, controlled the revenue and expenditure of the State, saw to the police and the defence of the frontiers, negotiated every treaty, and appointed and dismissed the members of the diplomatic, military, judicial, financial, and administrative bodies, who, by reason of their offices, were responsible only to him. The representatives of the people kept their control over general affairs, but they could not interfere in the routine work of the Government. The separation of the two powers protected the executive from that pressure which a minister brings to bear under a parliamentary Government in order to bribe the electors. The duty of the Executive was to govern, that of the Legislative was to agree to taxes, inquire into the expenditure, and to decide on all cases of general procedure in which the country was concerned. This was to cause trouble later, but for the present all went well. The Senate was made up of those men who had brought about the Revolution—not only legislators, but generals, diplomats, men of letters, artists, and men of science, who overflowed into the Tribunate and legislative body. Consuls, senators, tribunes, and legislators owed their power to the Committees appointed by the Councils, and were the outcome of the rule of the Directory. Only, according to the Constitution of the year VIII, as it was submitted to the People, Bonaparte was expressly put forward as First Consul for a period of ten years. He was accepted by 3,911,007 votes out of a poll of 3,912,569. The Executive was founded on the unanimity of the nation. The Legislative was founded, not on a popular election—for it was a twice expurgated body—but on an arbitrary selection made by the surviving remnants of the last Government. This disparity of origin gave a great advantage to the former power, an advantage which increased at every crisis.

The men of the Revolution, however, attained their end. They had not dared to appeal to the electors; the experience of the years IV and V taught them that. Yet they were unable to start working a Constitution without the nation's ratification. Accordingly, they put forward Bonaparte for election, and he put in force the Constitution, thanks to which they kept their places and enjoyed a certain influence with the Government. Moreover they had no doubt that Bonaparte, the representative of the Republican Army, and owing everything to the Revolution, would, after playing a foremost part in the actions which had established it and assured its continuance, show himself, as in Vendémiaire and Fructidor, the stern adversary of Royalism and the counter-Revolution.

Such was the situation on the day when the First Consul left his provisional dwelling at the Luxembourg and made his entry into the Tuileries. It was the 30th of Nivôse in the year VIII (January 20, 1800). The little artillery-captain had covered much ground in six and a half years. What his real intentions were none could say, for he was not self-communicative. He alone knew what his next action would be. His star had risen in the East; he saw and believed in it.

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Three months after Brumaire, Napoleon still did not consider himself sufficiently master of the situation to employ the full powers granted him by the Constitution. He did not exactly hesitate, but he proceeded with caution. He wished, before forging ahead, to understand, test, and control the machinery; to replace and reconstruct what did not work well, either according to older patterns or after designs which his own experience and inventiveness suggested to him. He did not rely upon himself alone, but sought counsel and advice. He applied about each matter to those who understood it.

He quickly saw that the machinery of government had stopped working for the last ten years, after running smoothly until then. Who had been responsible for its efficiency? It was neither the King, nor the Court, nor the Ministry, but the staff which had been trained, taught, and educated for administration: the head clerks, the overseers, the officials, and the public servants—men who had toiled in the collar steadily and tirelessly, and earned the name of "the Plodders." They had taken pride in doing their work with regularity, and had been contented to seek for no other reward than their ordinary pay and a sense of conscientious satisfaction. They lived for their business, and troubled themselves only about such matters as were entrusted to them; but those they knew thoroughly, and they had no political opinions of their own. They had a strong bent for order, method, well-drawn-up documents, clear accounts, and straight dealing. The Revolution shocked their feelings and disturbed their habits. Besides, it drove them away, some of them it even killed. The survivors had since then remained unnoticed. A few had come forward to get elected to the Councils, but they met with scant success. Bonaparte sought for these men, drew them from obscurity, and gave them offices. They proved the most useful and devoted assistants in his work. They immediately threw themselves into the business and reduced matters to order. The essential thing in government is to seek out the men who know, and set them to work.

But on every side there were conflicting parties, and Bonaparte was obliged to survey the country and see who could be won over to his cause and whom it was necessary to attack. There was no need to win over the Republicans; they had themselves drawn up the Constitution, and stood by it and him. He had only to get the utmost assistance out of each one of them by applying him to the work of which he was most capable. Even those who had at first been excluded from the Councils for resisting the *Coup d'État* were, for the most part, employed. Only the anarchists were exiled from favour. At the same time Bonaparte did not form an indissoluble alliance with the Montagnards whom he admitted to the Government. Those who were his protectors in former days had disappeared for the most part, dead, outlawed, and dishonoured —young Robespierre, Turreau, Fréron, Tallien, Barras; even Saliceti he abandoned to his brothers. Against certain Corsican representatives he showed dislike and even hostility, although they had proved themselves very useful to him before; and this was all the stranger because they had, until then, been most intimate with him. He availed himself of all the other members, but he bound himself to none. No one had any power over him, or dared presume upon an old acquaintance, except Talleyrand and Fouché; they were exceptions, and maintained an influence which no disclosures about them could shake. He knew that they were unfaithful, dishonest, and treacherous, yet he took no account of it. Did he hold them necessary to his purpose? Was their sagacity indispensable? Was he attached to them by bonds that he could not sever? This is a dark corner of his history, and every explanation offered hitherto is insufficient.

With regard to the anti-republicans, he had maintained ever since his first appearance the attitude of a soldier. Even the proclamations of his Army before Fructidor, which were justified by the anti-military attacks of the Clichyens, were explicable in the same manner. He had taken Toulon—he was under orders. He had fired the cannon of Vendémiaire—he was under orders. He had sent Augereau to help the plot of Fructidor—he was under orders. He had taken part in Paris at a Republican holiday from the 15th of Frimaire to the 14th of Floréal, which was the anniversary of the 21st of January—he was under orders. In all these affairs he had acted, not as citizen Bonaparte, but as a General or a member of the Institute. Whatever his real opinions were, he showed none that might commit or trip him up. Then the Royalists, remembering his noble birth, that he had been educated by the King, and married a turncoat Royalist, hoped that he would prove a Monk. The Catholics, better informed, knowing his conduct in Italy, and how he had treated the Pope and priesthood, expected a Constantine. With the latter he determined to come to an immediate understanding if they could consent to be simply Catholics, and if the Church would cease to champion the Throne. He did not fear religion, nor, for the present, did the framers of the new Constitution. "Men of religion," cried Cabanis, "in whatever manner you adore the unknown power of Nature, or that omnipotent God whom you choose to suppose rules directly over human destinies, the freedom of your worship shall be preserved; and if your teachings help to foster a good and healthy morality in the heart, they shall be respected even by those who do not believe in them."

Whoever desired the practice of the Catholic religion as a spiritual need, and not as an instrument of civil strife, would be won over sooner or later. Then the anti-Republican forces would be cut in two, the most influential part would be lost, and enthusiasm wane, the numbers and recruits fall off. No understanding, on the other hand, was possible with the Royalists. Bonaparte had too good a sense of his own worth and position to play at Dumouriez or Pichegru. It was through the Revolution that he attempted to reconcile all Frenchmen, not by means of the counter-Revolution. None of the essential work done by that movement could be sacrificed—the Revolution was France.

Thereupon followed a sudden rupture with the Royalists, who, in looking for a tool, met with the most formidable enemy that the Monarchy by Divine Right had ever encountered. Others could be seduced by plotting and bribery, or, if they were unwilling, different means could be found. Throughout these party struggles, which sapped the strength of the country, the Bourbons and foreigners were continually found fanning the flames of dissension. Bonaparte was neither shaken nor seduced. The powers of government which he organised and employed were not such as could be easily overcome through their incoherence, decentralisation, and independence of the central authority or such as under which the Royalists could even peacefully exist. He held them grouped in his hand, and controlled them in such a manner that every man, military or civil, owed his position to him. It was of no use for the Royalists to ask for peace and pretend submission, while keeping back their arms. With him it was necessary to behave openly; such trickeries were of no avail; he would answer them with a dozen bullets, which was brutal but effective. What, then, was to be done? Kill him.

Meanwhile his glory increased. The victories of Italy and Egypt were long passed, but Marengo shed a fresh lustre and revived their fame. Bonaparte the Consul was also Bonaparte the invincible General. On his return he met with no more opposition. He dismissed from his counsellors the man whom, just after Brumaire, he had deemed indispensable, and whom he no longer saw through the illusions of brotherly affection. He knew he was equal to the civil affairs in which he now busied himself, but to set them on a firm footing needed the cessation of those wars which had, for ten years past, absorbed the vigour of the nation. Warlike glory had been gained in abundance: the great need and the general desire was for peace. Peace, and the treaty of Campo Formio, contributed as much to Bonaparte's popularity as his victories did. A peace was demanded worthy of such successes, a universal peace imposed by such invincibility—a peace by which the Revolution should be established, liberty assured, and the national territory rendered unassailable. That was the dream of every one employed on the land, in the workshop, or at the desk, throughout France; of bourgeois and peasants alike; it was the dream, too, of many soldiers. And Bonaparte strove in every possible way to realise it.

It was at this moment that the Royalists resolved to kill him.

They did not stand alone, since from before Marengo there had been coalitions between the anarchists and Monarchists, between the terrorists of the past and future, between the red and white. During the fourteen years of Bonaparte's rule, in every plot, hatched or abortive, there were apparent in the names discovered and the people arrested signs of that alliance, though they were hardly strong enough to establish its certainty. Were they simply the confidences of ruffians mutually helping each other to avoid the police? Had hate of him grown to such a height that many different murderous conspiracies floated in the air without there being any common authorship between them, or were the arms which worked for a common cause directed by equally concerting heads? When arch-plotters were surprised in conference, was it not likely that they had made alliance and exchanged assurances and guarantees which were only to be fulfilled on the death of the Consul at some one or another's hand?

He lived under the dagger, and was a target constantly aimed at. It was pretended that the police imagined, or provoked, or even got up the attempts. But for each one unearthed there were a hundred hushed up and passed over. It was to the interest of the First Consul that it should not be known how hotly his life was attacked, lest the hope for security which France had reposed in him, and her confidence in his future, might be destroyed, and she fall again into terror of those violences from which Bonaparte had delivered her, and which she detested, whether Jacobin or Royalist.

On the bursting of the "infernal machine," so soon after the plot of Chevalier, and that of Demerville, Céracchi, and Aréna, the whole country approved of the vigorous action of the First Consul. It called for more stringent measures and the employment of greater sternness. It was ready to grant him the most extraordinary powers to crush those who troubled the peace which was so greatly desired. The desirability of external was doubled by such need for internal peace, so that to procure it the country was ready to sacrifice imaginary political liberties which had proved useless.

What would not the country have granted to him who had recalled the exiles without undoing the Agrarian revolution, which was only now completed by the acquiescence of the emigrants; to him who had re-established security of property as well as person; to him who was bestowing upon the nation a code of laws regulating the intercourse of private citizens, and setting forth in detail every possible situation in which an individual could be placed, from the moment of his conception to the time when his inheritors should divide the fruits of his labours; to him who was about to reopen the churches and their services, giving to the priests again a standing in the nation, but not a share in the government, and refusing to restore to them their property which had already been sold and divided, but rather compelling their agreement to these changes; to him who, in two years, had achieved the work, deemed impossible, of reconciling Europe to the Revolution, after first reconciling France to herself?

Yet there was much opposition made to him, and many hindrances thrown in his way. The Tribunes thundered and the Deputies voted against him. Every organised body which was the creation of the old revolutionary assemblies seemed bent on thwarting him. Was it he or they who had changed? Perhaps neither; the misunderstanding was mutual. The Parliament men had wished to put a man of their own at the head of the Executive, so they had chosen Bonaparte to protect their interests. But he, on whose actions they had relied without asking for any guarantees, had determined to play the Frenchman as well as the revolutionary. Although maintaining the essential spirit of that movement, he would not deprive the nation of those elements which were necessary to her greatness. He refused to become the tool of either the religious or political fanatics, for he recognised it to be equally fanatic to enforce either belief or disbelief. It was plain that the country would be oppressed by such fanatics, unless Bonaparte delivered her from them. Unless they were disarmed, it was hopeless to reconstruct a powerful France possessed of all the organisation necessary to a civilised European country, and able to profit by and employ her resources for the consolidation of her power. Such a France must be founded, by means of peace, upon the unanimity of the national aim, which had been broken up by internal dissension, and safeguarded by religion, "the only firm and certain bulwark of the State," against anarchic immorality while trusting her defence to a well-disciplined Army which had learnt its business in eight years' campaigning, but was so deeply leavened with patriotism that it would obey no one who showed disloyalty to his country.

Supported by the nation who acclaimed him, he determined on a *Coup d'État* which was morally, if not legally, defensible. He was the elect of the sovereign people, and he had with him the Senate, who were the trustees of the Constitution. He dispensed with the Tribunes and the legislators, but presented himself to seek the consent of the nation. Their answer was to proclaim him Consul for life, to increase the powers they had granted to him, and to entrust their future still more implicitly in his hands.

If it had not been for the folly of the Parliament —and that of the new members was the worst— if it had not been for that systematic opposition to every measure of social reform and that characteristic obstruction of the national life planned amongst the intriguers, of whom many were not even Frenchmen, the different State bodies would have found themselves able to combat and check the policy of Bonaparte on one point. The unruly minority, emboldened by the very impudence of their own harangues, attacked with equal violence and dishonesty every measure, whatever it might be, which was brought forward by Bonaparte. On their gaining some slight successes concerning certain questions involving the whole order of society, the Consul, stung by such pin-pricks, carried out his determination and purged the Assemblies. Even in this he had the people with him.

Without this systematic obstruction it would have been apparent in the particular case of the Concordat with Rome, that the Institute, the Senate, the Tribunes, and the Legislative Body all held different opinions to Bonaparte. He knew so well that he was going, if not against the opinion of the country yet against the prejudices of the political bodies, that he shrank from proposing to the legislative Assemblies a measure which could only be passed subject to their agreement. If the question had been looked into calmly, not as by men vowed to the propagation of atheism—a futile doctrine without any fortifying consolation—but as by honest men, sceptical of revelation, though considerate of religion on its traditional, political, and social sides, there would have been an apprehension for the future in setting up a dominating Religion, and for the present in the cancelling of the greater number of those guarantees which France had obtained during many centuries against the demands of the Ultramontanes, and which had brought about so close a union between the Crown and the Clergy. To these had been due the activity of the clergy in the life of the nation, their loyalty towards the Throne, and their neutrality in the quarrels between Pope and King. Every politician would then have recognised that the Church could not be for ever separated from the State, without either the persecution of the Catholics or establishment of a clerical domination; and that, consequently, it was necessary to set the Catholic Church upon a legitimate foundation. But the rights of the Gallican Church ought to have been safeguarded. It was not enough to have pointed out her existence: life should have been breathed into her, her privileges recapitulated, and a statement of doctrine drawn up more precisely than the Declaration of 1682, in which should have been mentioned all the guarantees that had been generally accepted and had passed into law. The work would have been particularly arduous, and it was scarcely contemplated; the negotiations alone were sufficient. They were complicated by political considerations, by personal questions, and by the need for haste—above all, by the ignorance of the negotiators, their want of general ideas, their lack of learning, and their shortsightedness of outlook. The cautious and crafty Roman diplomats should have been confronted by Frenchmen who, in theology, ecclesiastical knowledge, and acquaintance with precedent, were at least capable of marshalling and sustaining their arguments. Unhappily, when there was need of a Bernis, there was only a Bernier. In the place of the only too-much-needed Assembly of the Clergy and Faculty of the old Sorbonne, there were a few Counsellors of State. Hence the great and irreparable mistakes which were to bear their fruit a century later.

The present need drove Bonaparte to proceed too hastily. He certainly thought himself well up in the Gallican position, for he had read *L'Esprit de Gerson*, and was convinced that he gave up nothing because he affirmed every line of the Declaration of 1682 and the four Articles. He flattered himself that he had in no way compromised the Church of France, and that he could surrender to the Pope the privileges which the clergy and Crown had constantly denied to him, could grant him the supreme control over the bishops as well as over the divisions of the dioceses, and yet not lessen among the priests their spirit of independence towards the Pope and loyalty towards the Sovereign which had proved so useful to ancient France. In exchange for a few paltry present advantages, he abandoned the whole future.

The truth was, he wished to end the civil war and to dissolve the alliance between the Bourbons and the priests, who, at the expense of their religion, had supplied the Royalist party with its most active and influential agents. He desired to gain over the clergy, whom he expected would prove useful assistants in establishing and supporting his rule. There was no one to inform him. There was no one capable of concisely setting forth the teaching of the Church as it had been accepted in France, of restoring her from her ruin, and making her comprehensible to people who were ignorant of the politics, even though they practised the religion, of the Catholic Church.

His opposers were no better advised or informed. The greater part of them had, when in power, shown themselves enemies to all revealed religion, and had aimed at the *dechristianisation* of France. They considered the Concordat only as a reaction against the opinions they had rendered prevalent. Others, followers of the reformed religion, had conceived the idea of making France Protestant, either because of their own strong sectarian zeal, or because they considered the virtues which they thought typical of the English and Germans were attributable to the influence of that religion. Such men saw their hopes overthrown by the triumph of *the Beast of*

Rome. They confounded in an equal hate both the Gallicans and the Ultramontanes. A few honest people there were, though looked upon with suspicion, who were equally convinced of the excellence of the Catholic religion and the necessity of preserving it from the Ultramontane opinions. They saw in the Concordat elements that would prove destructive to the Faith in the near or distant future. They considered that, from the day when the Roman power, unfettered as it was by the Gallican liberties, should claim absolute infallibility without bound or control; from the day when the secular clergy should obey the commands of the Pope as the Jesuits did *perinde ac cadaver,* the yoke would become unbearable to all men who looked upon religion rather as a guide to morality than a system of superstitious practices. A collision would then be unavoidable between the civil power, conscious of its rights, and the religious power, intoxicated with its infallibility. The latter in the hands of a stranger imperfectly skilled in the needs and tendencies of the country, which no one would be in a position to defend or assert, might be employed in promoting measures which would provoke a struggle with the Government. The faithful, torn between their duties to the civil and religious laws, would have to stand by either their faith or their patriotism, they would not be able to preserve both, and the nation would be as grievously divided on the religious question as it had been in the days of the League and the Civil Constitution.

It is true the First Consul, when he submitted the Concordat to the Legislative Body, presented also certain Organic Laws which he made inseparable from it, and without which it could not be accepted. By these he intended to preserve to the civil power the rights which had been so painfully won by the Crown and clergy of France. He set up these laws, which the Papacy had always disputed, as an immovable barrier to the pretensions of Rome. But laws such as these could only be efficacious if the clergy whom they protected, and to whom they guaranteed an independence compatible with the unity of the Catholic Church, accepted and acknowledged their application by the civil power. But this acceptance might cease, and the clergy pretend to find in these laws an instrument of oppression rather than protection. Urged by force or fraud, they might hasten to abandon their privileges, and, proudly neglecting them, ally themselves with their foreign chief against the national Government for the purpose of limiting or evading their own rights. How long then would those laws remain either effective or practicable? Or the Government might, at some time, neglect through agreement, weakness, or inefficiency, to enforce those rights, or even abolish them. The full results of such a religious system as the First Consul had set up would then be displayed. France would find herself, either rent by a schism which would renew the religious wars, or in such an abject subjection as Spain had undergone for three centuries. Which would be the worse?

Bonaparte depended less on the coercion of the laws than on the spirit of the clergy, whose appointment, promotion, education, and doctrines he intended to survey and control, acting as their strict master and exacting benefactor. Forgetful of the opinions which he had published when a young artillery officer, he imagined that he would win over to his support the priests in his employ by favours, money, and promotion, as well as by a regard for their welfare and prosperity. He thought that the oaths which they should swear between his hands would prove strongly binding on their consciences. He ignored the fact that by failing to reinstate the clergy in all their political prerogatives, privileges, and possessions he would still appear to them simply as a revolutionary whose favours were received on account in expectation of a complete restitution. This expectation, together with their personal ambitions, led a few priests to make certain advances which the First Consul believed sincere, and on account of which he thought he had gained over the whole Church. But in reality he was unable to rely on either the Constitutionals or the Nonjurors. The former were annoyed at the way in which they had been sacrificed and at having to renounce their dearest principles; the latter still remained, for the most part, faithful to the Monarchy, and regretted the rights that they had held under it. Nor did he gain the young priests, who had been educated in a dread of all schism, and were, in consequence, entirely Ultramontane. It is true that every other way out of the difficulty was accompanied by disadvantages, and that the most serious drawbacks of the present plan would not be felt for the moment. It was even possible that the immediate advantages and others to be drawn later from the reconciliation with the Roman Church might outweigh the dangers which could be warded off from time to time. Besides, no one then dreamt that the Church, ruined as she was, would regain her power with such rapidity.

Moreover, Napoleon was not, perhaps, wholly guided by political feeling, but by a sentiment of belief and religion which his early education had preserved in his heart, if not in his intellect. The question has been mooted, and the arguments in its support are not to be despised. Bonaparte did not practise the Catholic religion, but he showed by a multitude of facts, not only respect for the beliefs of others, a disposition to acknowledge the virtue of the Sacraments, and a desire that his relations should partake of them, but also a determination to avoid all sacrilege in matters with which he was concerned. And the admission of the possibility of sacrilege is in itself a declaration of faith.

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If Bonaparte had supposed that the Concordat and the public restoration of the Catholic religion would immediately put a stop to the troubles which had been stirred up on behalf of, or under the pretext of, religion, he was right with regard to the rank and file, but not their leaders. They redoubled their efforts on seeing their best followers deserting them. "The clergy is one of our best weapons," wrote the Pretender to his brother the Comte d'Artois. The Royalists could not see this weapon slipping from their grasp without bitter resentment. Although they again succeeded in arousing the resistance of certain emigrant bishops, it was by a strange turn, a new schism—that of the Little Church—that was engineered against Pope Pius VII by means of the very men who had already banned the Constitutionals as rebels against Pius VI and had rejoiced in his dogmatic decisions. Yet they drew after them only a few of the priests and the faithful.

Louis XVIII doubtless found consolation in refusing to recognise the Concordat any more than the Republic. "No real change has taken place," he wrote. "The Concordat entered into between Francis I and Leo X is still in force, and no French bishop can lawfully assume the title unless he has been recommended to the Holy See by me." But although no "real change" may have taken place, such an apparent change had, that all the Royalists were aroused to make an end of Bonaparte. The English Government, frightened at the preparations for invasion which the Consul was preparing at Boulogne, employed every effort and means to defend themselves, granting to the Royalists all the help they desired in preparing and bringing about the counter-Revolution. Halting-places, rest-houses, and relays were prepared between London and Paris. At Paris itself the number of hiding-places had been increased and spies stationed even in the Government buildings. The Royalists had allied themselves first of all with disillusioned Republicans who had been converted to Royalism; by means of these they had got into touch with other discontented Republicans whom they hoped to win over to the good cause, and through them they had found friends in the Republicans who simply hated Bonaparte, and were ready to conspire with any one to overthrow him. This time it was not an affair of ignorant Bretons or Normans, food for powder and the guillotine, who could be disowned if they failed, and sent away with a few louis if they succeeded—whose actions could be asserted by the Royalists to be spontaneous and unconnected with their party. My lord the Comte d'Artois and his staff staked everything on the throw. His dearest friends, his acquaintances, his most trusted followers, stood by him, and with them the most famous of the *Chouans*, headed by Georges Cadoudal.

Was there really an intention, as was stated later, of kidnapping Bonaparte in the Tuileries, or St. Cloud, or on the Malmaison road? If there was, what did they intend doing with him? It is easy to turn an abduction into a murder, and the boundary is quickly crossed. However, thanks to the failure of the plot, the facts can be judged of without much heed being given to the words. Between the Revolution as represented by Bonaparte and the counter-Revolution as represented by a Bourbon—or rather all the Bourbons of all the branches, for even the sons of the regicide *Égalite* obeyed implicitly the commands of their elders—there had been war since 1792. The weapons of the Revolution were the guillotine, canons, and muskets; those of the counter-Revolution were the dagger, the pistol, and the bomb. Their arms were equal; each party took those most suited to its purpose. But if the Royalists had the right to attack, Bonaparte had the right to defend himself. The attacks of his enemies would have justified him in taking any measures he chose. He was wrong in not definitely proclaiming a state of siege. In order to avoid any loss of civil prestige to his Government, he bound his own hands, and forced himself to fight with blunted weapons against enemies who had carefully sharpened theirs. On their capture, it was necessary to lead them before a criminal court where the judges were partial, the witnesses favourable, and the audience gathered expressly to applaud them, where fair ladies rivalled certain generals in expressing as much pity for the criminals as indignation against their victim. A court-martial would have avoided these scenes, cut short their rhetoric, and done prompt justice, while Bonaparte would have been free to grant them pardon if he had thought fit. He was better advised when he trusted the case of the duc d'Enghien to a court-martial.

Concerning this matter, he did right in striking hard, so that they might learn in London and Edinburgh that it was no jesting matter. He did right in striking high so that my lord Comte d'Artois might pause to reflect on seeing the blood-royal shed. He did right in striking quickly, for the sovereigns of Europe would not have failed to intervene on behalf of this royal hostage. Perhaps, too, he was inclined by his nationality to think that there was a blood-feud between him and the Bourbons, and that this feud could be waged in France in the same manner as in Corsica, where, in the vendettas, every member of the family is held equally responsible for the feud. But at least no one can deny that he was convinced of the active participation of the duc d'Enghien in the attempts made upon him. It was doubtless a blameworthy act to violate the law of nations by kidnapping on neutral ground a French emigrant whom he had good reason to regard as his would-be murderer, but it was not the part of those men to reproach him who had on neutral territory carried off and murdered ambassadors, whose office is considered most sacred among every nation. Bonaparte did not pretend to carry out an act of justice, but of vengeance. He looked not at the morality of the case, but the facts. He struck openly and avowed it proudly. If his agents showed an excess of zeal, he never repudiated but rewarded them handsomely. The nation, except for a few individuals who nursed their secret anger to blaze it forth some eleven years later, remained profoundly indifferent. What else did she want? A Government which should entail continual revolutions, each fatal to personal property, compromising to public security, and accompanied by a Royalist or Jacobin reaction such as she knew only too well! In *salons* and drawing-rooms there was some emotion felt for the fate of the duc d'Enghien. There was none in the barracks and workshops. If there was any talk about the matter, it was in praise of that bold stroke.

CHAPTER II

REASONS FOR THE CORONATION

Plan of establishing the Government on the hereditary basis on account of the continual conspiracies—Lack of enthusiasm—Causes of the nation's doubt—Strange form of hereditary Government proposed by Bonaparte—His brothers unknown to the nation—Different forms of hereditary succession—It is always direct, from father or the mother to son or daughter—Adoption—It only creates further difficulties—The Imperial and Royal houses—Similarity between them as established by Napoleon—Negotiations with the Count of Provence—Can it be said that Napoleon was ignorant of them?—Proofs to the contrary—Letter of Lucchsini to his Court—Napoleon certainly aware of Tallyrand's negotiations—His dissatisfaction with the Popular right—A desire for consecration and ancestors—Charlemagne—Honours decreed to be paid to him—The column and the statues—The Carlovingian titles—The Imperial coat of arms—The eagle—The bees—*Le Champ de Mai*—Open-air ceremonies not very successful in the nineteenth century—The proclamation of the Empire—Napoleon determines that the opening ceremony shall take place in an enclosed or covered place—The *Invalides* church, the temple of Mars—Distribution of Stars of the Legion—The only ceremony typical of the times and the career of Napoleon—Napoleon not satisfied with it—His idea of a coronation—The dresses—Search for a consecrator—The Pope—The crowning of the Carlovingian Emperors by the Pope—The opinion of the Abbé de Mably—Doctrine of Divine right—Did Napoleon desire it as the basis of his Empire?—The advantages to be gained by being crowned by the Pope—Advantages that the Church would gain—Napoleon goes to Aix-la-Chapelle, near to the tomb of Charlemagne, to await the answer of Pius VII.

On account of the daily recurring conspiracies against the person of the First Consul, the great State-bodies agreed in determining that the Government could be rendered really secure only by being set upon an hereditary basis: at least, they said so, in obedience to certain hints that were given to them. They discovered certain advantages and benefits in the hereditary principle which were supposed to be peculiar to it and which they vied with each other in praising. The essentials of the Revolution would be maintained and strengthened, and the Republican system would remain untouched. Napoleon was to be crowned Emperor in order that the plots and civil disturbances should cease, and a complete reconciliation be established henceforth with monarchical Europe. Let him then be Emperor! For a good many reasons the same enthusiasm and delight which had been conspicuous when he was made Consul for life were no longer apparent. The longed-for peace had proved only a truce. The English had broken the Treaty of Amiens after carefully refraining from carrying out any of the conditions which were disadvantageous to them. Aroused by the colonial activity shown by the First Consol's Government and the anxiety felt at the re-establishment of peace on the Continent, they had suddenly attacked the ships of France in every sea. The ocean was closed, and to reopen the seaports it was necessary to go and seek the key in London at the cost of further blood, treasure, and distress. It had been necessary to reconstruct the Army, which had been reduced only two years before, and conscription weighed heavily upon a people who, under the Monarchy, had supported only small armies in which all the officers and most of the men had enlisted of their own accord. The expenditure would be heavy. Since 1795 the revolutionary armies had generally lived upon the enemy, and even made a considerable profit out of them. But this army, with the necessary fleet and transports, would have to be paid for in good French money. Again, it was not certain that the establishment of an hereditary Government would be a safeguard against the plots of the Royalists. Even the staunchest and most devoted of Bonaparte's followers were not convinced of it. The day after the first proceedings taken by the Senate Duroc wrote to Davout: "The First Consul has not yet given his decision. But I know well that it will be final, and that we, at any rate, will all of us show ourselves ever faithful and attached to him. For my part, although there is much in the current report which displeases me, I would willingly shed my blood in upholding whatever the First Consul thinks beneficial to the country." Doubtless—but what did the First Consul consider beneficial, and, since there was talk of an hereditary Government, who was to be the heir? Eugène de Beauharnais, whose adoption rumour had suggested, was out of the question, the method of adoption not being sufficiently monarchical. It was apparently resolved to declare certain of the Consul's brothers to be his successors. A lame expedient. The confidence felt by the nation in her hero was not extended to his brothers. Lucien alone was well known, and he almost exclusively in the parliamentary world and among the men of letters. His fame was slight, he was not popular, and the other brothers were quite unknown. Besides Lucien was in great disfavour with the Consul, he lived out of France, and little notice was taken of him except by a few malcontents. Joseph had been appointed by the Consul to play an important part in several negotiations, and had even seemed to conduct them; yet he gained no reputation thereby. He had put his signature *Bonaparte* at the bottom of treaties, but there was only one Bonaparte—the Consul, and it was he who had really signed. As to Louis, he was never heard of, which was as well.

It was doubtful if such a succession would really strengthen the Government. The successors depended simply upon the will of the Consul, were unknown to the nation, and had rendered her no service. The people would only consent to it through devotion to Napoleon. In a Royal Family which has reigned for several centuries the Princes of the Blood are capable of succeeding to the throne by the very fact of their legitimate conception and acknowledged birth. Such a right of possession is rendered so sacred by time that it is called Divine, and is even believed to be so by some people. It is independent of the will of either the princes or the Sovereign, who cannot, in a monarchically constituted State, alter the order of succession or set aside the lawful successors, however distant they may be, in favour of his own children who are not the offspring of a legal marriage contracted with a princess of a royal house. This was the strict French doctrine. Even a woman was capable—whoever her husband might be, provided he was a prince—of transmitting to her children, whom she was supposed to have conceived by him, the right of succession which she had inherited from her father or mother, and which she exercised in person without the control of her husband. This, indeed, produced some surprising dynasties, but nevertheless at least four European Monarchies were regulated by such laws.

But a monarchical institution in which, from the foundation of the dynasty, the right of succession should be extended to the collaterals of the fortunate soldier who had established it was unexampled. This was to suppose an earlier right actually possessed by the father of the founder. In this case Charles de Buonaparte would have been the entirely unconscious possessor of the right. Besides, Joseph and Louis would then share in the succession, but Napoleon, being a younger son, had no right to succeed to the detriment of his other brothers. A collateral succession is only justifiable by a common parentage, by the presupposed partition of the fortune of the common parent among his descendants, and the reversibility of these portions from one to the other. Here it was absurd. But all the ridiculous pretensions of Bonaparte's mother, brothers, and sisters were derived from it. In politics anything is a handle. To admit a doubt is to awake a claim; to imagine a right is to create it.

The problem of government by hereditary succession was not solved; it was only presented to the country under terms which would have been unacceptable if they had been taken seriously.

They were agreed to only because they pleased Napoleon, and because its realisation was deemed wholly unlikely. Moreover, Napoleon had reserved to himself a more rational solution by the power to adopt him whom he intended should be recognised as his successor. But in reality, if not by law, this power was limited, for he could scarcely exercise it except in favour of one of his nephews. Again, only one of his brothers had male children, and would this brother consent to the adoption of his son? Would he give up to him the rights which he believed belonged to himself? Thus the power of adoption only raised further difficulties, and cast a new element of disturbance into the relations between Napoleon and his successors.

A hypocritical fiction was suggested, perhaps by himself, to extricate him from his difficulties. By this, although the rights which he had seemingly granted to his brothers were fully recognised, they were limited, or appeared to be limited, to their descendants. This fiction, if acted on, was likely to prove fruitful of dispute in the future.

Owing to circumstances which Napoleon could neither control nor remedy, the fourth dynasty was established in a manner extraordinary and precarious. The founder was desirous of making stable the institutions set up by himself with the consent of the nation. This was to be done by establishing an hereditary Government. There were, however, no direct lawful heirs in whom the nation might expect to find the peculiar virtues which had caused them to choose Napoleon for their chief. The succession devolved upon inferior personages whose only qualification was their relationship to the founder. Even so it was not firmly established, for it could be altered at any moment by the simple desire of the founder. But since the order of succession was not invariable, the government was not strictly hereditary, and the agitation in vain.

Yet the Imperial House was being founded to all appearances upon the model of the former Royal House; at least, Napoleon seemed to be biassed in that direction. He appeared ready to follow the ancient lines, only substituting the Napoleons for the Bourbons. Thus, before 1789, the House of France had been chiefly represented by three Princes of the Blood: Louis XVI, the Count of Provence, and the Count of Artois. In the same way the House of France would now be represented by three princes: Napoleon, Joseph, and Louis. Nor did Napoleon stop only at the revival of the traditions of the Monarchy for the adornment of his dynastic pretensions. He bestowed on his brothers certain dignities which had always been reserved for the brothers of the King. For instance, the Count of Provence had been Colonel of the Carbineers in succession to the Duke of Maine and Prince de Dombes; accordingly Louis was to be their Colonel-in-Chief, and he alone of the colonels-in-chief appointed at that time was to command the brigade which had been expressly summoned to Paris. Again, my lord Count of Provence had had possession of the Luxembourg, and Joseph was to live in the little Luxembourg, although, according to the terms of the Constitution, the palace, with all its dependencies, formed part of the endowment of the Senate. Such examples might be multiplied.

This mummery, though perhaps he flattered himself to the contrary, was little likely to influence any but the stupid and ignorant. There is one certain proof, however, of his intention to substitute his own House for the Bourbons; this was the negotiations admittedly opened for the purpose of inducing the Count of Provence to renounce his hereditary rights. This was a strange blunder on the part of such a man as Napoleon. By it he furnished the Pretender and the princes of his blood with an opportunity for a vigorous protestation and a striking argument against the legitimacy of the Empire which he was constructing. Yet it was a well-intended blunder on his part. He was the incontestable possessor of the actual sovereignty, and it showed his wish to conciliate the most discordant parties, to remove all causes of strife between citizens, and, by making a settlement on the French branch of the House of Bourbon, to discharge his own and the nation's debt to it.

Certainly he admitted that the Bourbons actually had a right by proposing to them that they should renounce it. It was difficult for him to reconcile such a right with the popular authority which had endowed him with the consular power. It was probable that he had little belief in that right in spite of his acknowledgment of it, but that he thought that his power would be more complete if the throne were surrendered voluntarily and if, like the founder of the second dynasty, he could establish his family upon the ruins of the willing and unopposing house of Capet.

On the failure of the negotiations, he denied having had any knowledge of them. It was said that the misdirected zeal of some inferior official alone could have called forth the letter of the Pretender in which he disclosed the proposals that had been made to him. "Was it possible," Napoleon said later, "that I, who held my power by the very authority—that of the Sovereign People—which excluded them, would seek to obtain their renunciation of rights which they had justly forfeited?" It was easy to say this in St. Helena, when he was endeavouring to prove that he had sought for no other source or consecration for his Imperial dignity; but did he believe it in January, 1803? Apparently not, for although he did not propose the matter himself to the Prussian Ambassador, Talleyrand, his Foreign Minister, did.

"M. de Talleyrand," wrote Lucchesini to his Court on the 3rd of January, "has observed that he intends to speak to me about a matter which for some time will be known in France only to him, myself, and the First Consul. General Bonaparte is determined that the King, our master, alone shall hear of it, because of the consideration and esteem felt for his wisdom, uprightness, and power." It was necessary for the King of Prussia to consult his ally the Emperor of Russia on this important business, and he actually did so. But Napoleon declared that "he had never, directly or indirectly, suggested such a thing in any way." Then it must be supposed that Talleyrand had taken upon himself, without speaking to the First Consul, to make overtures to Lucchesini in his name, to open negotiations with the Pretender, to involve two of the most powerful sovereigns of Europe, and to lay the Consul open to a check grave enough to call for special declarations from Napoleon, and that for this political crime and abuse of confidence he went entirely unpunished. The thing is just not impossible, though highly improbable in any one except Talleyrand.

But Napoleon's desire to gain the confidence of the Bourbons, as was shown afterwards in the Austrian marriage, cannot be denied. He had respect and even veneration for monarchical principles, though he has denied it in the writings of his captivity. From 1805 onwards he continually strove to ally his House with the royal families of Europe, and to get himself admitted into the society and households of kings. The times in which he lived, the education he had received, the influence exercised on his needy youth by the awful and beneficent Monarchy, all concurred in determining him, when laying the foundations of a dynasty, to seek to establish it without usurpation. The lot which he proposed for the Bourbons was surely preferable to the monastery in which Pepin the Short imprisoned Childeric III, or to the poison with which Hugh Capet rid himself of Louis V. The only reason he had to regret the attempt was its failure and publication. He naturally had it denied diplomatically by Talleyrand, even as he denied it himself afterwards, when he attempted to justify his fallen Empire.

Without going so far as to say that by virtually recognising the superior claim of a House founded on Divine right, he destroyed the democratic nature of the authority he had received from the nation, still, it must be allowed that he was not content to base his throne solely on the popular choice. The Tribunes and the Senate could propose the re-establishment of monarchical institutions, the people could be called to ratify this re-establishment with their votes recorded at the town halls and polling booths ; but such proceedings were flat, plain, and uninspiring ; they neither aroused the enthusiasm of the populace nor satisfied his own Latin imagination, which was too given to grandiose ideas and too hungry for magnificence not to be susceptible to the truly Roman desire for pomp and circumstance. Thus he was unable to raise himself to a legitimate kingship by simple election owing to his recognition, or apparent recognition, of the superior claim of the Bourbons ; and he did not believe that the will of the Sovereign People was sufficient to secure a dynasty which he dreamed of founding to endure through the centuries. Accordingly he cast around him for a Consecration and for ancestors. The latter were easier to obtain than the former. While secretly negotiating for the one, he busied himself in unearthing his long-lost forbears. Napoleon did not, indeed, fall into the same absurdity as his brothers in their eagerness to discover their princely descent. Though unable to trace his own lineage to the Carlovingians, he yet restored the cult of Charlemagne and paid honour to his memory. He wished to be held the successor of him who, by filling the world with his fame, by receiving the Imperial crown and re-establishing the Empire of the West, had acted after Napoleon's own heart and proved himself worthy of commemoration.

It is curious to know when he first entertained this idea. It could scarcely have been before the 9th of Floréal of the year XI (April 29, 1803), when it is first mentioned in a note to the Minister of the Interior: "The Minister is to draw up a plan for the erection of a statue of Charlemagne on the Place de la Concorde or on 'the place called Vendôme.'" This exactly corresponds in date to the failure of the advances made to the Pretender. The Count of Provence's letter to President Meyer was dated February 28th, and the Royal Princes declared their adhesion to it on April 23rd. Either the First Consul did not know the result of the Meyer affair and was preparing for the success of his negotiations, or he did know it and was breaking ground. In either case the idea dates from the advances made to the Pretender. On the failure of these advances Bonaparte relied more than ever on Charlemagne. This was proved by a solemn decree of the 8th of Vendémiaire of the year XII (October 1, 1803): "A column is to be erected in Paris in the middle of the Place Vendôme like that of Trajan. It is to be 2.73 metres in diameter by 20.78 in height (Trajan's column is 3.60 by 29.60 metres). The shaft is to be adorned spirally with 108 allegorical bronze figures, each 97 centimetres high, representing the departments of the Republic. This is to be surmounted by a domed pedestal, ornamented with olive-leaves and supporting an erect statue of Charlemagne."

There may be in this a reminiscence of the erection of a national column on the Place de la Concorde, and departmental columns in every chief town, which was decreed in the year VIII, but it is of little significance. The principal and most deliberately significant detail of the new column was the statue of Charlemagne. What statue actually was it? A new one, or the statue which had been brought from Ghent to Paris? On the 12th of Vendémiaire (October 5th), four days after the decree, the Minister of the Interior refused to return this statue, which had been demanded by Kotgen, the Mayor, to the city of Ghent. "Since a use has been found for the statue of Charlemagne," he wrote, "it is impossible to return it to Ghent." Or was it another bronze statue carried off to Paris in 1794 from the great fountain in the square before the Town Hall at Aix-la-Chapelle, and preserved in the National Library? This statue the Minister refused at the same time to return to the people of Aix. Whichever one it might have been, the intention was obvious and remarkable—Napoleon intended to claim Charlemagne as his ancestor.

He was perhaps first drawn towards that monarch in his youth by the legendary tales of which Lucien sang in his *Cirnéide*. He certainly applied many passages of the Abbé of Manly's *Observations on the History of France* (which he had studied at Auxonne) to his own destiny, so that they seemed almost prophetic. This was the fountain-head of his ideas, but he engaged some one—probably Fontanes—to supply details, suggest parallels, and furnish hints, usually incorrect.

Long before the passing of the *Senatus Consultum* at St. Cloud, by which the people had been summoned to vote upon the question of an hereditary government, Napoleon had pondered in his mind over most of the titles and outward dignities with which he intended to load and invest himself. Here, too, the fascination of Charlemagne is beyond dispute. An Emperor himself, his grandiose nature determined to pass over unnoticed the third dynasty and revive the glory of the second. Louis XVI had been so often declared to be the last King of France, even by those who offered the crown to Napoleon, that he thought it inexpedient to gainsay it. The Republic, as maintained by the *Senatus Consultum*, was very willing to merge its name into that of the Empire, except upon the coinage. An Emperor over a Republic is not an utter incongruity. By that appellation he became the equal of the Emperors of Germany and Russia, who would not themselves have taken the title unless they had deemed it higher than that of King. It was not, indeed, essentially Carlovingian, but the titles bestowed upon the great dignitaries who surrounded the Imperial throne were so, and Germanic to boot. From the beginning of his reign Napoleon determined to bestow crowns after the manner of those borne by the electors. Thus he created an Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, such as the Elector of Mayence was; an Arch-Chancellor of State, such as the Elector of Trèves was; and an Arch-Treasurer, as was also the Elector of Mayence. But he preferred the purely French title of Constable to that of High Marshal, which might have offended the twelve peers of the new Charlemagne, who had been made Marshals of the Empire. He borrowed, too, from ancient France the name of Grand Admiral, for the dignity was unknown in the German Empire. He dispensed with a High Butler, High Steward, and High Chamberlain, for these titles implied personal service, and the holders of the great dignities were only to perform political duties. But he kept the title of Grand Elector, which had hitherto been unknown in France. To the great officers of the Crown he gave titles which were customary in every Court of Europe, as well as in France, only substituting the German Grand Marshal for the French Grand Master. As to the Grand Officers of the Empire, whose dignities were purely honorary, the titles they held were for historic reasons alien to Germany and perforce borrowed from old France. But the scheme was still, in its essentials, a German importation.

It was further necessary to invent arms for the new Empire. They could hardly be those which Napoleon had borne on entering the Military College, and which had been strangely described by his father as: "a shield quartered by two bars and two stars, with the letters B.P., signifying Buona-Parte; the ground of the shield red, the bars blue, and the shading yellow." This would certainly not do. Only Elisa Baciocchi, whose chief characteristic was pride, quartered these arms, which had served for his passport to St. Cyr on the escutcheons of the Princess of Lucca and Piombino and the Grand Duchess of Tuscany. Napoleon thought otherwise. Besides, it was a matter of state as to what heraldic animal should be chosen to represent the Empire. The affair was discussed in Council. The cock was popular, but the elephant, which enjoyed an immense repute at that time, was not without supporters. The lion, being the king of beasts, nearly carried it. On the rough copy of the decree regulating the cognisance of the Empire the lion figures in every case—"a lion or couchant on a field azure." Napoleon has crossed out "lion couchant" with his own hand and written underneath, "an eagle spread." This was probably because André Favyn, in his *Théâtre d'honneur*, followed by all the writers on heraldry who have furnished and invented apocryphal coats, had affirmed that Charlemagne took for his arms an eagle or on a field azure. Even if the arms of Charlemagne were not accurately known, it could still be pointed out, Dithmar asserts, that in the time of Louis le Débonnaire, and doubtless earlier, "an eagle of metal was placed in the western portion of the Imperial palace at Aix, and it was always the custom of those who got possession of the palace, first of all to seize upon this eagle." Thus Lothaire was recognised as Emperor by setting the eagle at his side—*versâ aquilâ*.

The spread eagle upon the shield was Carlovingian; the perched eagle on the military standards seemed rather to be Roman. The soldiers of the Grand Army were the successors of the legionaries, and naturally borrowed their ensigns from them. They regarded these with the same veneration and devotion, and paid to them the same honours. The objects of the soldiers' worship were no longer flags, whose soft material was faded by the sun and tattered by the wind, but eagles of imperishable metal, which, withstanding the thunder, soared aloft amidst the blasts of battle, and against which bullets rained in a harmless and unpenetrating shower.

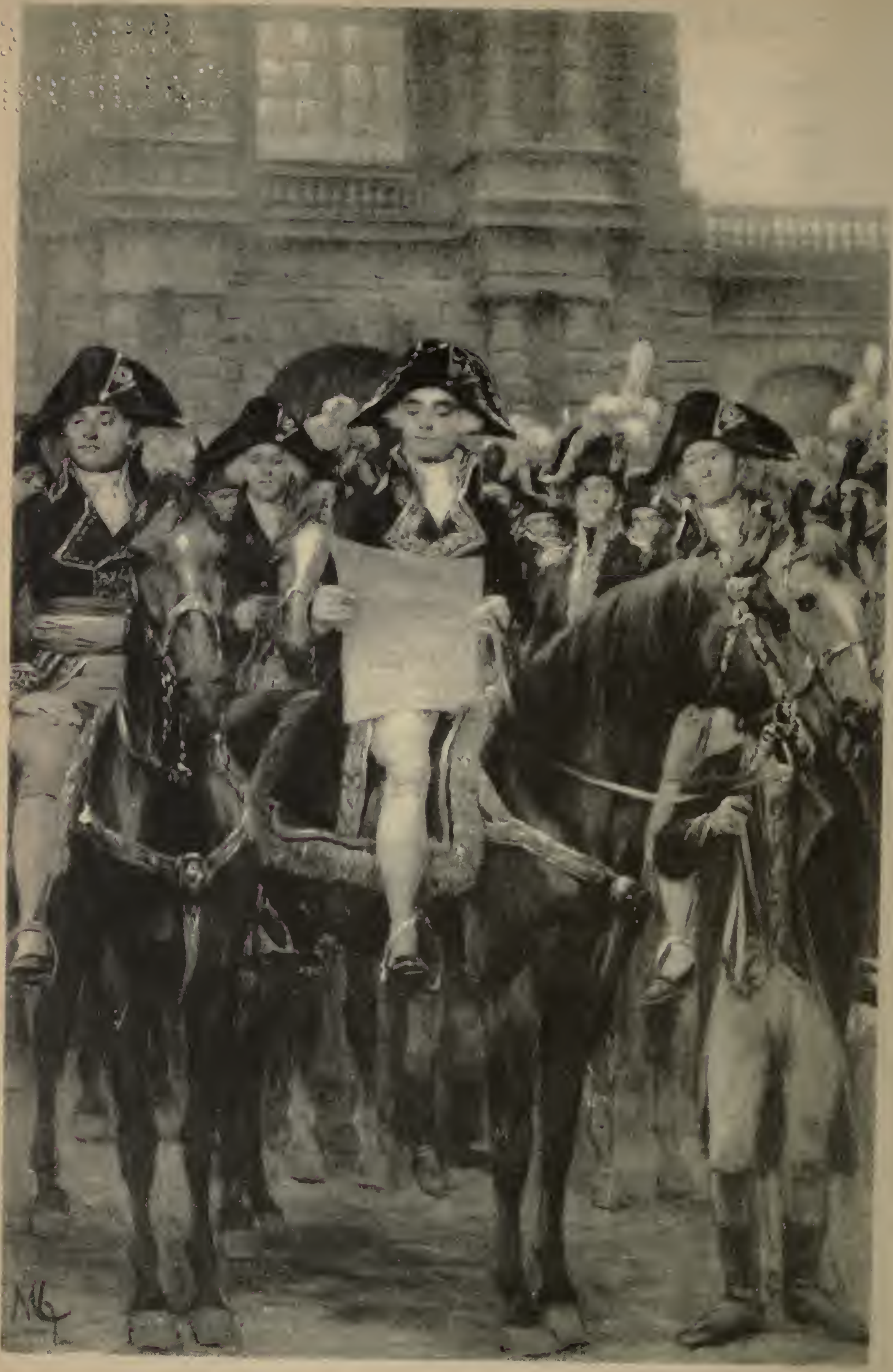
But the eagle was not enough for Napoleon. It did, indeed, adorn worthily and with distinction the escutcheon of the Empire, affirming the Imperial dignity and recalling Charlemagne to the memory, but the Emperor desired to assume for himself a more personal emblem.

The *fleurs de lys* which had been sown broadcast on the carpets, hangings, and insignia of the Capetian kings would have been scarcely suitable to match with the eagles. Besides, they belonged to the old order of things which was to be forgotten. It was necessary to choose some plant or animal from the heraldic flora or fauna which could be adopted in the place of the *fleur de lys,* and was yet known to French historical tradition. As nothing suitable of this kind could be found in the Age of Charlemagne, it was necessary to search farther back. Luckily it was remembered that metal bees had been discovered in the tomb of Chilperic at Tournai. These were supposed to have fallen off from his royal dress or mantle, and to have composed his armorial bearings. The difference between the bee and the *fleur de lys* is not great. It was said that the latter had been evolved from the former rather than from the Salian toad. On the entry of Louis XII into Genoa in 1507 it was remarked that the King of France wore a dress on which were sewn numerous bees. Were they really bees or *fleurs de lys*? "Badly made *fleurs de lys* have been seen which much resembled bees." According to Chifflet, they are *apes ex auro solidæ*, which possess a king without any sting. According to Seneca and Plato, *rex ipse sine aculeo est,* who is merciful and forbears vengeance. So much for the Ancients. As for the Moderns, it was remembered that, during the sitting of the National Convention on the 3rd of Brumaire of the year IV, Daubermesnil, speaking in the name of the Committee of Public Instruction, had proposed that the emblem of the State should be a hive swarming with bees, and that it should be placed upon the front of every national building. To which Citizen Baraillon had indeed objected that "bees were the cognisance of several Kings of France of the first dynasty, such as Childebert and Chilperic. Besides," he added, "bees can never be the emblem of a Republic, for is it not well known that they all pay court to a queen?" The Convention was struck with this merry quip, and rejected the harmless suggestion of Daubermesnil by moving the previous question.

As there now actually was an Emperor, the queen of the bees ceased to prove a stumbling-block. Yet Napoleon did not announce the adoption of this emblem by any formal decree or Order in Council. He sprinkled bees liberally on his ensign as General-in-Chief, he introduced them on the borders of the Army colours, he adorned the upper portion of the escutcheons of the Grand Dignitaries and good towns with them, he powdered them over his own carpets and hangings, but he never gave any formal and definite explanation of these bees. In the same way, green became the accepted colour for the liveries of the Imperial House. It became the national tint of Italy, and was even proposed in 1811 for the flags of the Imperial armies. It was actually adopted momentarily for the private standard of the Emperor, perhaps merely because it was the traditional colour of Corsica.

All this had little to do with Charlemagne, but some innovations are necessary after the lapse of a thousand years. Would it be possible to hark back to him as regards the ceremony of the Investiture? Would it be possible to assemble on a "Champ de Mai" the populace and army, in whose presence the Emperor, clad in his Imperial Insignia, should take the Constitutional oath to the nation which had been drawn up by the Senate? The Parisian Champ de Mars, where the Federation had been celebrated, would very well take the place of the "Champ de Mai." By this two traditions would be revived, and the enthusiasm of 1790 again aroused. At first the idea seemed a noble one and invested with a pleasing air of antiquity. On reflection, however, it proved unfeasible. To begin with, the Champ de Mars, although it had witnessed the Federation, had seen also a year later the massacre of the petitioners, followed by the scaffold of Bailly. Then, again, the Revolution had afforded a surfeit of ceremonies in the open air. The notions of David and Chenier seemed delightful upon paper, but transformed into tinsel, cardboard, and plaster, they became wretched and bedraggled after the first shower. An instance of the disadvantageousness of such a plan had just been given.

On the 28th of Floréal (May 18th) the First Consul had received at St. Cloud the *Senatus Consultum* of the Senate, by which an hereditary



Government had been established. The scene had taken place in a gallery, with only a few onlookers. The speeches had been appropriate and, for that age, devoid of rhetoric. This private and well-conducted ceremony had been impressive by its very simplicity. Two days after this there was to be seen crossing Paris a procession of, first a dozen aldermen, then the two prefects, then the Chancellor of the Senate between the President of the Legislative Body and the President of the Tribunate, lastly the Keeper of the Archives of the Senate, bearing in both hands the Act of the *Senatus Consultum*. In front of them went trumpeters from the garrison, the dragoon guards of Paris, and a band of music. Behind them followed all the general officers of the Parisian Army, the Governor, General-Senators, Generals-in-Chief, Generals of Division, Generals of Brigade, Adjutant-Commanders, the pick of the Constabulary, a squad of drummers and trumpeters, and finally four squadrons of heavy cavalry bringing up the rear. The Chancellor of the Senate, on horseback, proclaimed the new Emperor at the duly appointed places—before the Luxembourg, at the Place du Corps Législatif, the Place Vendôme, the Place du Palais-du-Tribunat, the Place du Carrousel, the Place de l'Hôtel-de-Ville, and at the Place du Palais-de-Justice. At each of these points there was a good deal of laughter, in which some of the angry performers could not help joining. Among them even was Fontanes, the President of the Legislative Body. Clad in silk stockings and short hose, he was mounted on a horse described by him as fiery, and which he continually thought would throw him in the dirt. He was furious at the mummery, which resembled, he said, a Shrove Tuesday masquerade. Laplace, the Chancellor of the Senate, alone expressed himself delighted with his ride. "Sire," he wrote to Napoleon, "I have just proclaimed as Emperor of the French, amid the acclamations of the People, that hero whom I had the honour twenty years ago to launch upon a career which has redounded so greatly to the glory and prosperity of France." "On this happy day, the most glorious of his life," he reiterated his assurances of faithfulness, love, respect, and devotion.

But every one did not think like Laplace. Ceremonies in the open air, especially when they involved equestrian manœuvres, were not much to the taste of the civil element, however suitable they might be to that of the military. It was thought necessary to divide the ceremony, even at the sacrifice of some of the Charlemagnian effect. One part was to take place under the roof of some entirely secular edifice, the other in the open air in the Champ de Mars. The most suitable building seemed to be the Church of the Invalides, known as the Temple of Mars, and generally made use of, especially since the establishment of the Consulate, as the theatre of patriotic solemnities. There, on the 20th of Pluviôse of the year VIII (February 9, 1800), General Lannes had presented to Carnot as Minister the ninety-six flags which had been taken by the Army of the East, and Fontanes had delivered a eulogy on Washington; there, on the 25th of Messidor (July 14, 1800), had been celebrated the festival in honour of the capture of the Bastille, when Lucien, the Minister of the Interior, had pronounced a discourse, and the *Triumphal Ode on the Deliverance of Italy*, written by Citizen Fontanes, had been recited; thither, on the 5th Complémentaire of the year VIII (September 22nd), the ashes of Turenne had been solemnly transferred, and the festival of the anniversary of the Republic was held there on the following day, so that the place had become, as it were, consecrated to such ceremonies. Although it was called the Temple of Mars, it was re-Christianised, the Republican inscriptions erased, and the Catholic insignia restored, in order that the clergy might officiate at the Coronation of the Framer of the Concordat. On the 21st of Messidor of the year XII (July 10, 1804) the Emperor decreed that the taking of the oath and the Coronation, fixed for the 18th of Brumaire of the year XIII (November 9th) should be performed in the Church of the Invalides, in the presence of the Empress, the Princes, Princesses, Grand Dignitaries, and all the public officers mentioned in the organic *Senatus Consultum* of the 28th of Floréal. After the ceremony of the Oath-taking and Coronation, his Majesty was to proceed to the Champ de Mars.

The anniversary festival of the 14th of July, put off from Saturday the 25th to Sunday the 26th of Messidor, was celebrated by the distribution of Stars of the Legion of Honour in the Church of the Invalides. This served as a rehearsal for the ceremony of the Coronation. The Empress, with the Princesses and her ladies and officers—a small train of four carriages—drove thither between two lines of troops who bordered the road from the Tuileries. The Emperor started at midday from the Carrousel, whence he had caused the procession to start. At its head marched the Chasseurs of the Guard; next came the Colonel-Generals, the Marshals, and the Prince Constable; then Napoleon himself, "clad in the handsome new uniform of Colonel of the Guards, with epaulets and a black hat and mounted on a noble white horse"; after him came the Colonels-General of the Guard, the great Civil officers of the Crown, the *Aides-de-camp,* and last of all the Horse-Grenadiers. "He often saluted," says Stendhal, "and smiled theatrically with his lips, but not with his eyes." At the railings of the Invalides Palace the Marshal-Governor stepped forward and offered the keys. Then the Civil officials, who had driven thither, joined the procession, which was now formed up on foot. At the door of the church holy water was sprinkled by the Cardinal-Archbishop of Paris and an address given. The Emperor was then led by the clergy to his throne, which was set under a canopy to the left of the altar. The Grand Officers, civil and military, sat behind him on benches; the Grand Dignitaries, the Ministers, and the Marshals were ranged along the altar-steps. Behind the altar sat seven hundred military pensioners and two hundred pupils from the Polytechnic School in a vast amphitheatre occupying the whole extent of the dome. In the nave were the members of the Order of the Legion. In the gallery were the Empress and her ladies with the Ambassadors. The Cardinal-Legate began Mass. After the Gospel, Lacépède, Grand Chancellor of the Legion, read an address. The Grand Officers were then called forth individu-

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ally and took the Oath. Then the Emperor arose and, covering himself, spoke: "Commanders, Officers, Members of the Legion, Citizens, and Soldiers, you swear upon your honour to devote yourselves to the service of the Empire, and to preserve its territory intact and unassailed; to defend the Person of the Emperor, the Laws of the Republic, and the liberties which it has recognised; to oppose in every way sanctioned by the Laws, Justice, and Reason all attempts to re-establish the feudal system; and finally you swear to maintain with all your power that Liberty and Equality which is the basis of all our Institutions. You swear it!" An immense shout answered his deep voice which sounded throughout every part of the immense building and raised an echo in the hearts of all. It sounded like the triumphant cry of the established and victorious Revolution. Every hand was stretched forth, and a solemn oath to the death taken.

The Legate then resumed and finished Mass. After this, Prince Louis, in his office as Constable, pinned the insignia of the Order upon the tunic of the Emperor, and each of the Grand Officers, Commanders, officers, and members of the Legion came up at the summons of the Grand Chancellor to receive in person his decoration from the hand of Napoleon. This ceremony was his own idea. In the meetings held on the 23rd and following days at the house of the High Chancellor to arrange the ceremonial, it had been arranged that the insignia should be handed by twenty of the members of the Legion to the Grand Dignitaries, and then distributed by them. Napoleon was resolved to enhance the glory of the Star of Honour by giving it to each one himself. On every man who received it was shed, as it were, a portion of his renown.

After the distribution of the insignia came the *Te Deum*. At three o'clock the ceremony ended, the Emperor was saluted by the artillery, and returned to the Tuileries.

No solemnity could have been more effective and suited to the times, more representative of the new order of things. None could have been more impressive in its simplicity, or have left deeper traces behind. The Army, the populace, the citizens, and the soldiers, all the men of whom the State was proud and who had done her good service, were gathered together that day, with Napoleon at their head, to celebrate and do honour to their country. The day, too, chosen for the ceremony was the anniversary of the 14th of July, which witnessed the passing away of the feudal system and the beginning of a new age. In a military uniform, reminiscent of his victories, with his little hat upon his head, booted and spurred ready to mount his horse for the defence of the work of the Revolution, Napoleon was an appropriate and representative figure. He was not loaded with the obsolete and grandiose trappings by which he hoped to revive the tradition of a vanished age. He appeared as the foremost man of the modern age, unpretentious, yet full of youth and activity. In his train was military pomp, and around him were walls hung with the trophies of his glory. In him the nation saluted the man whom she had delighted to honour, and whom she exalted in the place of a King whose Divine right she had repudiated. On that day, the 26th of Messidor of the year XII, was inaugurated an Empire such as the people and Army had desired.

Napoleon did not perceive all this. He had no sympathy with the modern grandeur of such a ceremony. He did not consider the garb in which he had been clothed suited to the solemn taking of an oath. The pomp had not been sufficiently magnificent, nor the place sufficiently venerable, vast, and imposing. The procession had seemed too small, and the ceremony had not displayed enough religious feeling. On the 27th Portalis had well written to him: "When your Majesty appeared, it seemed as though the patriotism of all was aroused. There was no longer a division between the friends and enemies of the Commonwealth, but your presence awoke in each a sense of admiration, respect, and love. Yet he was not satisfied. His nature hankered after more foil and tinsel, a greater display, more of the past ages of Rome and Charlemagne, and a good deal more of Royalty. The fitness of reality made no appeal to him. His imagination was inflamed with high-sounding illusions. The crowning of an Emperor implied to him something that was not modern or contemporary, something to be expressed in a vaguely Roman form, with an admixture drawn from the Germanic ceremonies of the second dynasty grafted on the usages customary at the hallowing of the French kings. As he was not yet certain of obtaining the presence of the chief actor whom he desired, he gave out that the ceremony would be almost entirely secular; but he had already determined on several of the pomps to be displayed and some of the rites which were to be performed.

Three days after the distribution at the Invalides, on the 29th of Messidor (July 18th), he issued a decree regulating the dress to be worn by the Emperor, the Empress, the Princes, the Grand Dignitaries, the Ministers, the members of the great State bodies, the Marshals, the ladies, and the Grand Officers of the Crown. He chose for himself a white tunic embroidered with gold, a purple velvet mantle powdered with golden bees, an open gold crown wrought in the likeness of laurel-leaves, a golden sceptre, a golden hand of Justice, and a sword studded with diamonds at the hilt. The Empress was to have a corresponding dress of white silk with a purple mantle. The Princes and the Dignitaries were also to wear white tunics and flowing mantles—white for the former, vari-coloured for the latter. His train was to be composed of peers of France, or, perhaps more accurately, German Electors. However, he found on reflection that these costumes were too like his own and suppressed them.

The decree was drawn up, but not published. It seemed as though he was merely playing with the idea, and experimenting with the preparations without coming to any definite decision. At the end of his decree it was announced that: "all details of the festival and ceremonies of the Coronation will be settled later." In reality, he was awaiting the answer which the Pope would give to the advances and offers made to him.

It was here that the chief Carlovingian element was to be introduced. Had not Pepin been consecrated by Pope Stephen III, who had come to implore his help against the Lombards? Had not Charlemagne been crowned at Rome by Leo III? When he was at Auxonne Napoleon had read, transcribed, and annotated Mably: perhaps this passage had struck him: "The Pope also consecrated the sons of Pepin, and called both them and their father the anointed of the Lord. Stephen's ideas were confused, and by comparing the position of Pepin to the royalty of David, a kind of priesthood against which the Jews could not rebel without committing sacrilege, he was applying the principles of a Divine Government founded upon miracles to the French sovereignty which had long been abandoned by God to the common law of men. The Franks had just chosen Pepin of their own free will and without the command of any prophet sent from God. But the Pope told them that the Prince held his crown from God alone through the intercession of SS. Peter and Paul, and threatened them with the anger of the Church if they ever departed from the faith and obedience which they owed to Pepin and his descendants."

Here, perhaps, instead of the Democracy, was the foundation on which Napoleon wished to base his authority! Would it not be possible to have his power, if not Divinely delegated, at least blest with a Divine consecration? Possibly. If he did not believe in such a thing for himself, he believed in it for his subjects—at least, for some of them. He was unwilling that his Coronation should take place without any ritualistic service; yet he could hardly be consecrated by one of the bishops whom he had himself appointed. The Holy Ampulla had been broken, and the Archbishop of Reims, who had been turned out of his see by the Concordat, remained faithful in exile to his proscribed masters. It was impossible to renew the broken Capetian tradition for the benefit of the new dynasty. But if Pius VII were to come to France to consecrate Napoleon as Stephen III had consecrated Pepin the Short, and Stephen IV Louis *le Débonnaire;* if the Vicar of Christ were thus to recognise definitely the rupture between the Church of which he was the chief and the descendants of the most Christian kings, and were himself to crown, in the place of a son of St. Louis, the ruler chosen by the nation, after the example of Pope Zachary's treatment of Childeric III, then the claims of Napoleon would perhaps be possessed of a legitimacy such as he had hoped vainly to get by the abdication of the Pretender, and such as was not to be gained by a mere popular election.

But Napoleon ought really to have considered whether his own gains by this arrangement would be equal to those of the Roman Church. First, he gained a Divine institution for his dynasty. But there were not very many Catholics in France who believed in the actual interference of the Almighty in human politics. Besides, was such an institution desirable? If the Pope gave, could he not take away? Was he to have the disposition of the crown of France, the country which had witnessed the pragmatic sanction and the Concordat of Francis I? Would not his presiding over the inauguration of the new dynasty be, even more than the recognition of the Bull *In cœna Domini,* an acknowledgment of the Pope's right to make and unmake the sovereigns of France? It was likely also that all those who, according to the religious freedom established by the Constitutions, professed another faith or were open unbelievers, would be justly offended at the ruler of the State demanding and receiving an illegal institution which would have the effect of making the Catholic religion completely dominant. Secondly, his character would become sacred. Yet daggers had been raised against many of the Lord's anointed, such as Henry III, Henry IV, and Louis XV, while the blade of the guillotine which severed the head of Louis XVI had destroyed at a blow the superstition of the Royal immunity and of the sacrilege of treason. Thirdly, the attainment of internal peace, and the final abolition of disturbances resulting from the constitutional schism. But the emigrant bishops who had refused to submit to the Pope at the time of the Concordat were not likely to be appeased now by his consecration of Napoleon; and the Constitutionals who had formerly been willing to sign an instrument which protected their rights of conscience, would they not naturally be annoyed when, in order to appear before the Pope, they would be forced to deny the words and acts which had been prompted by their faith as Christians and their patriotism as Frenchmen? The Gallican liberties which had been so proudly asserted by the First Consul, and so shaken by the Concordat, would now be in a fair way of disappearing altogether, when the head of the Church showed himself in person to receive the veneration of the faithful and stir up the imagination of the rising generation of priests. Thus Pius VII would appear as supreme Pontiff, the messenger of the living God, and consecrator of the sovereign of the nation which had proscribed and murdered His priests, sequestered and despoiled the Churches, and insulted the Catholic religion by seizing the person of Pius VI as a hostage, and imprisoning him until his death. He would enter the city with Imperial honours, amid the salvos of cannon and the pealing of bells. He would be acclaimed by those who had formerly uttered curses upon him, and drive between lines of soldiers who had avenged the spirits of Basseville and Duphot by proclaiming a Roman republic in the Capitol!

And who would benefit by all this? Napoleon, carried away by his imagination, thought that the arrival of the Pope would arouse the enthusiasm of the people and inaugurate his new dynasty in a magnificent manner. He did not perhaps altogether believe in the grace-conferring powers of a coronation at the hands of the head of the Catholic Church, but he was prone, by nature and education, to think that some good and no evil could come of such an institution. Meanwhile, what was really essential in his position, the constitutional oath, the national election, and the rights of the people, was becoming more and more of secondary importance. Even in the eyes of the nation they would become mere accessories of which he seemed to be ashamed and to have little care. He fancied that his Coronation would make him a king indeed, like other kings, by Divine right, though he was in his own person a negation of that right, and would never be accepted in that position by any of the other monarchs. However much he might blaspheme it, he would still remain a man of the

Revolution. The Roman Church, on the other hand, would gain a most astonishing victory. Just as she had triumphed over the barbaric conquerors of the prostrate Empire, imposing on them her customs, laws, observances, and even dress, so would she triumph over this new barbarian, the man of the Revolution, and impose on him her discipline and authority; by him she would establish her domination for at least a century in France, which had been hitherto, though Christian, yet rebellious to the Ultramontane teaching.

In order to await the answer of the Pope, Napoleon sent Josephine to Aix-la-Chapelle on pretence of drinking the waters and prepared to follow her himself in order to visit the tomb and remains of Charlemagne. Perhaps he even thought that the Pope might consecrate him in that city of the second dynasty. Paris was not very much in his favour at that time: "This town," he said, "has always proved a misfortune to France; the citizens are fickle and ungrateful, and have plotted deeply against me." In any case, at Aix in the neighbourhood of Charlemagne, he redoubled his outward marks of veneration for his great predecessor. It was as though he was first demanding his institution at the hands of that famous Emperor. On leaving Aix, certain of a favourable answer, he wrote to the Pope, Pius VII, and begged him to come to Paris to consecrate and crown him Emperor.

CHAPTER III

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE POPE

How Napoleon had long since established relations between Josephine and the Pope—The Pope's briefs to *Victoire* Bonaparte—Taschir's mission—The rochet—Political wrangles—Blunders of Fesch—Initiative taken by the Legate Caprara on the subject of the Pope's coming to Paris—Approaches made to him at almost the same time by Napoleon—Caprara's dispatches—Consalvi's opposition—The cardinals consulted—Protest from the Pretender—Attacks upon the Pope—The opinion of the oligarchs—Count Joseph de Maistre's letters—The cardinals would be willing in return for certain territorial compensations—Question of the Constitutional oath—Conditions of his journey laid down by the Pope—Territorial demands—He does not dare to make them openly—Method adopted by Consalvi—Fesch takes the negotiations in hand—He reports the demands of the Pope falsely—It is believed in Paris that the Pope will come—New note from Caprara—He shows the opposition made to the Emperor's scheme—Discussion at the Council of State—Napoleon's arguments—The satisfaction given to his opposers—His advances to the Pope—Articles in the *Moniteur*—Favours to Caprara—Letters to the Pope—Talleyrand's threatening note—Combined efforts—Consalvi raises the question of the indissolubility of the ceremonies of the Consecration and the Coronation—Fesch's answer—Consalvi requires a positive explanation—Reply to Talleyrand's note—Formal setting forth of the conditions—Fesch accepts them—Last demands of Consalvi—Fesch agrees—The Pope declares himself willing to come—Final state of negotiations.

The Emperor infringes the first accepted condition—Letter to the Pope—A General ordered to convey it—

Pius VII wishes to take back his word, and to demand another letter—Fesch's last efforts—His success—The Pope will come—His speech in a secret Consistory—The retinue he brings—The departure.

At Rome things had not moved as quickly as Napoleon, on first appearances thought they would. Certainly in all personal matters Pius VII was animated by the best intentions to an extent that almost exceeded courtesy. Thus, he treated with extreme regard even the wife of the First Consul, sending her a letter on the 22nd of January by the hand of the Vice-Legate, whose duty it was to convey the red hat to the French cardinals. In spite of this he knew very little about Josephine personally, whom he called Victoire—*Dilectæ in Christo Filiæ Victoriæ Bonaparte*. Josephine took care not to show herself insensible to such honours, and on the 22nd of Nivôse of the year XII (January 13, 1804), she replied to his Holiness, sending the letter by the hand of her cousin Tascher. The First Consul directed the affair with his Corsican diplomacy. Josephine's letter was really the essential thing, but he treated it as of no importance. Fesch was to present Tascher. "He conveys," wrote Bonaparte, "a letter from me to his Holiness. I believe that he also bears one from my wife in answer to a letter received last year, as well as a rochet, which she has had made for his Holiness." It was he who had given 7,111 francs for this rochet, which was supplied by the citizens Vauderbocht, Keith and Company, and he had also given Tascher 12,000 francs for his expenses. Tascher brought back from Rome a great number of rosaries and relics for his relations in Martinique; a Flora, chosen by Canova, for himself, and, most important of all, a letter of thanks to Josephine-Victoire. An intercourse between her and the Pope had been established such as Napoleon had desired, in order to promote his future scheme.

But the path of political negotiations is a stormy one. Clouds had arisen between the Vatican and the Tuileries. Cardinal Fesch, the worst minister who could have been employed, had done a good deal by his blunders to raise them; but they were increased by the demands of the First Consul. Weary of seeing Rome made an asylum for his enemies, he had demanded from the Pope the arrest and extradition of the emigrant French adherents of the Court of Provence, who masqueraded under the Russian cockade and a vague diplomatic title. Consalvi, the Secretary of State, had refused; Fesch, vigorously pressed by Napoleon, had insisted, and the affair had become serious. The Pope had finally yielded, but Consalvi cherished bitterness. Moreover, certain of the terms of the Italian Concordat had exasperated the Sacred College, and the extension of some of the Gallican liberties to the Milanese seemed to the Court of Rome an unbearable usurpation. Such was the situation when the question, so long discussed, of an hereditary Government began to be formulated at Paris, and the subject of an Empire to be mooted. The Legate Caprara, who earnestly desired a cordial understanding between his Court and the new Emperor, wrote on the 6th of May (6th Floréal), two days after the Tribunate had adopted Curée's motion on the hereditary form of government, to ask for new credentials to be sent to him as quickly as possible. This was a compliment which cost little. But on the 9th (19th Floréal) he was emboldened to propose (of his own accord, as the dates show) that the Pope should come to Paris to crown Napoleon. "I trust," he wrote, "that this affair may be brought about, on account of the great benefit which will result from it to Religion, the Church, and the State." Perceiving what line the emigrants, with the enemies of France in their train, would take, he refuted in advance the arguments which they would not fail to furnish to the Sacred College concerning the jealousy the other Powers would feel at the Coronation of Napoleon, and their probable refusal to recognise the Empire. He supported his reasoning with many examples drawn from history.

Although the initiative had come from the Legate, Bonaparte was thinking at the same moment of making advances. On the evening of the 19th of Floréal the Cardinal, after sending off his dispatch, repaired to the reception of Madame Bonaparte, at St. Cloud. There the First Consul took him aside and said: "All the constitutional authorities have suggested to me how glorious it would be to have my Consecration and Coronation performed by the Pope, and what a beneficial result would also ensue from it to religion. It is not likely that any Power will find anything to object to in it, either in law or in fact. I will not make a formal request at present to the Pope as I do not wish to risk a refusal. Do you, then, open the matter, and when you have given me his answer, I will immediately make the necessary applications to the Pope, as I ought." The next day Caprara hastened to report this conversation. He desired the Pope to give an immediate and favourable answer, which might show his goodwill. He also did not neglect to tell Consalvi how necessary his presence near to the Pope at Paris would be; in short, he did everything that lay in his power, and expected his hint to be understood.

But Consalvi did not wish to understand. He had not troubled to send Caprara his credentials with the Imperial title on receiving the dispatch of the 6th of May. "It was expedient," he said, "to wait until the wishes of the nation were realised." When the official announcement arrived on the 29th of May (Prairial 9th), he replied rather coolly to Fesch, and it was only on the 4th of June (Prairial 15th), that he sent the new letters. Since January, 1803, neither the Papal Chancellory, nor the Secretary, nor the Pope himself had taken pains to learn the right name of the new Empress. She was referred to again as *Carissimæ in Christo Filiæ, nostræ Victoriæ, Gallorum imperatrici.* The Letter, however, being exceedingly flattering, atoned for the wrong address. The Pope did not hesitate to ask, *majorem in modum,* the Empress Victoire to use her influence daily with her husband to protect and preserve the Catholic religion among the French, and he bestowed his apostolic blessing upon her—*Amantissime.*

On the 1st of June the cardinals had been consulted on the journey proposed by Caprara. They gave their answer on the 5th. The greater part of them attempted to evade the question. They brought forward objections suggested by Cardinal Maury, the Pretender's representative at Rome, and their hatred towards revolutionary France. Maury had just uttered a protest against the Empire "from the bosom of the Baltic." This protest would have been unnoticed in France if Napoleon, judging it little calculated to serve the ends of its author, had not ordered an extract to be inserted in the *Moniteur*. Certain paragraphs in this political invective referred directly to the Pope, as the following: "Consider whether the nation can endure much longer the yoke of these braggart Corsicans whose chief, to the dishonour of religion, demands a tithe of adulation from the ministers of God." The manifesto which contained this quotation, and several others, was dated by the Pretender "in the year of Grace, 1804, and the tenth of our reign," and published with the counter-signature of A. A. Talleyrand-Périgord, Archbishop of Reims. This had some effect upon the cardinals, who, oligarchs themselves, were the allies and relations of all the oligarchs in Europe.

Yet this document appeared moderate when compared with certain private letters and the talk of society. This may be seen by glancing at the letters written by M. Joseph de Maistre, Sardinian Minister at St. Petersburg, to his Chief the Chevalier Rossi, between October 22nd and November 3rd: "I cannot express to you my grief at the step contemplated by the Pope. I wish with all my heart that he were dead, even as I should wish my father dead if he were to dishonour himself." Again, between December 14th and 16th: "The crimes of an Alexander VI are less revolting than the apostasy of his wretched successor." And on February 14, 1805: "When a man of his rank and character shows himself so utterly forgetful of both, the only thing left to be hoped for is, that he will carry his dishonour to such a pitch that he will be looked on in the future as a mere puppet of no importance." The epithet "puppet of no importance" is absent from the first page of my lord Count Joseph de Maistre's work, *Du Pape*.

The anger felt by the different oligarchs had far more weight with the Cardinals than the protests of the emigrant bishops; for these last, by refusing to agree to the Concordat, were rebels against the Pope, and, as schismatics, liable to the greater excommunication, which would have been passed on them if it had not been for their distinguished rank. But they could hardly allege such a reason as this to Bonaparte any more than they dared to raise directly with him the question which would have simplified everything: the proposal of the fair exchange of the Consecration for the restoration of the Legations of Bologna and Ferrara. Some of them, indeed, were ready to propose this, and to strike an open bargain such as that by which Avignon and the Comtat had once been regained, in return for the cession of some papal claim or congregation. But Consalvi appeared resolved not to avail himself openly of other than spiritual reasons for refusing the spiritual favour which was demanded of the Pope. There were many cardinals in the Sacred College who held his opinions, but there were some, such as Caprara, at Paris, and others even in Rome, who considered only the advantage to be gained by the recognition of the right of the Roman Church to make sovereigns, and who, caring very little for the protest of the Count de Lille, used all their influence to bring about the journey of the Pope.

The *Senatus Consultum* of Floréal 28th (May 18th), reached Rome at about the same time as the official announcement. Consalvi found in it the objection he was seeking. According to the constitutional oath which was therein prescribed, the Emperor was to swear "to respect and enforce the laws of the Concordat and the liberty of worship." This was intolerable. "This oath," wrote Consalvi to Caprara, "has grievously afflicted the heart of his Holiness. He sees in it an obstacle which, if it is not removed, will prevent him from carrying out his wish of coming himself to consecrate and crown his Imperial Majesty."

Consalvi, with the Pope at his back, felt his position growing stronger. His Holiness now laid down several other conditions, besides the suppression of the Oath. He was resolved that his consent should be purchased at the price of several valuable concessions with regard to certain religious questions then occupying the attention of the Government, such as the suppression or alteration of the Organic Laws, the return to their allegiance of the former constitutional bishops, and the abolition of the complementary laws of the Italian Concordat. He also demanded that his reception in France should be worthy of his dignity; and finally, that the Roman service-book should be used at the ceremony of the Consecration, not the service *Pro Imperatore Coronando,* which was applicable only to a King of the Romans crowned at Rome, but the service *Pro Rege Coronando,* the word *Imperator* being substituted for the word *Rex.* If Napoleon preferred to have the service used at the coronation of the French kings, he could do so, but if the Pope assisted, the only oath he would allow the Emperor to take between the papal hands should be either the one prescribed in the pontifical service-book, or that used by the kings of France. Then followed a few details, such as: The ceremony was to take place on Christmas day in memory of the coronation of Charlemagne. There were no temporal demands at all. That, however, was not because the Pope and his Court had forgotten them, for he had appointed a committee of cardinals to inquire what provinces formerly detached from the States of the Church it would be possible to endeavour to recover. This committee was ambitious in its suggestions. Cardinal Borgia demanded: Avignon and the Comtat, the Romagna, Bologna, Ferrara, the duchies of Parma and Placentia (reverted to the Holy See on the death of Duke Antonio, the last of the male line of the Farnese), and the fiefs, under the supreme rule of the Holy See, for which the Duke of Savoy and Piedmont, appointed Pontifical Vicar by Benedict XIV in 1741, paid a rent of 2,000 dollars Spanish; besides these, other fiefs in the Milanese were mentioned. Apparently Borgia was ready to recognise Napoleon as a second Charlemagne on condition of his restoring the entire territory which had once belonged to the Papal States.

The majority of the Cardinals, without advancing such extravagant claims as these, nursed the hope that, in return for the Consecration to which he seemed to cling, Napoleon would do something generous. If General Bonaparte had spared the Holy See at a time when its temporal existence was in the palm of his hand, and when he had nothing to expect from the Pope, what would not the Emperor Napoleon do for her in return for the institution of his dynasty by the Vicar of Jesus Christ? Let him but give back the Legations, and the Sacred College would brave the wrath of the great Powers; it would forget its disgust against the murderer of the duc d'Enghien—a quarrel after all, between barbarians, about which Rome cared little; it would listen no longer to the remonstrances of the aristocratic society at Rome; it would shower grandiloquent titles upon the upstart Bonaparte; but—no Legations, no Pope.

Still, the demand should have been definitely made, but it was not, and the question remained unbroached. The Sacred College would like to have had its desire guessed, and its simony cloaked in the guise of gratitude. If the French representative at Rome had been a man, like Cacault, able to take a hint, all would have been well. But with Fesch, a Swiss clown armed with a Corsican stiletto, the situation was dangerous.

The prudent Consalvi accordingly confined himself to spiritual demands. He introduced a method which, by entailing a number of vexatious conditions, allowed him to hope that the Emperor would break off the negotiations, or at least grant all the concessions that the Pope hoped to obtain by his journey. Besides the former demands, chief among which was the suppression of the constitutional oath, he insisted on dictating the terms of the letter of invitation that the Emperor should write to his Holiness. First of all Napoleon was to express his desire to be consecrated and crowned by the Pope. Next, he was to state the circumstances which hindered him from coming to Rome himself to receive the crown, and he was to add that he would have delayed his Coronation until able to make the journey if it was not that the Pope, by coming to France, would have an opportunity of happily settling certain questions under discussion, about which he had made representations. This letter was to be brought to Rome by two French bishops.

This would have been to the taste of Consalvi without Fesch; but Fesch was impatient of these negotiations being carried on without him; here, as elsewhere, he aspired to direct and rule. He wrote to the Emperor and declared that he alone would succeed in obtaining a quick and desirable conclusion to the matter. "I would not have allowed," he wrote in his style, "delays which cause doubts that were strengthened by incidents which might have been able to cause anxiety, but which they would have been more interested in avoiding and hastening to a favourable conclusion if oral negotiation had been employed."

Busying himself in an affair which he apparently did not understand, he declared that all was going well, and, provided the Emperor agreed to the Pope's conditions, might be regarded as settled. These conditions had been: that the Emperor's letter to the Pope should be such as Consalvi had suggested; that the assurance should be fulfilled that had been given by the Emperor to Fesch, and repeated by him to the Pope, " of Napoleon's lending a favourable ear to his Holiness's unanswerable proofs that some of the Articles of the Organic Laws exceeded the liberties of the Gallican Church and the pretensions of the old Royal Government " ; that the rebel bishops should return to their allégiance to the Holy See, or be evicted from their posts by some means or another ; and lastly, that the Italian Concordat should be put into execution by the repeal of the Organic Laws of the *consultum* of Milan and the abolition of Moreau de Saint-Méry's decrees at Parma. Yet about all this Fesch reported scarcely anything. As regards the reception in France, he said that the Pope put himself entirely in the hands of the Emperor. He announced that his Holiness would require a strict observation of the pontifical service, except as regards the oath, which could be altered to suit the present circumstances. He then added some unimportant details concerning the reception of certain bishops by the Pope, his refusal to meet Madame Talleyrand, and his wish that the journey should be put off until the beginning of autumn. That was all. So little competent was Fesch to succeed in the negotiations which he had officiously undertaken. Not content with whittling down the demands of Consalvi, he also suppressed the chief point in dispute—the constitutional oath prescribed by the *Senatus Consultum,* which was very different from the religious oath prescribed by the Roman service-book.

On the reception of Fesch's dispatch the Imperial Court considered everything as settled. On June

20th (Prairial 9th) Josephine welcomed Caprara with these words: "Ah! then we are going to have his Holiness at Paris for the Consecration of my husband the Emperor." On the same day, when Caprara entered Talleyrand's apartment, the Minister exclaimed: "At last things are arranged, and the Pope will come to crown the Emperor." Caprara, who had just received Consalvi's directions, vainly excused and defended himself. He hastened to present a note, in which he declared the reasons which would prevent the Pope's journey and the objections raised by the congregation of Cardinals. First the Organic Laws (which the Pope might seem to sanction by his presence), the Pope's being accustomed "only to crown Emperors who purged their domains of everything likely to prove harmful to the Church." Next, the constitutional oath, with the words, "laws of the Concordat and freedom of worship." Then, the jealousy of the other Sovereigns, the weighty affairs under discussion at Rome, the unrest in Paris, with many other matters. All these influenced the Sacred College to postpone the journey—at least, until some arrangement had been made about the Legations. Caprara, however, somewhat softened down these demands, so that his indispensable conditions, except as regards the oath, were pretty well the same as those reported by Fesch, only his tone was higher and the question of the oath was given its due importance.

Aware of the victory he was gaining for the Church, Caprara, in reporting his progress to Consalvi, declared that all the demands of the Pope would be satisfied, but that immediate agreement was necessary, and he did not conceal that a refusal would have serious consequences. He said that the idea of a Coronation at Paris by the Pope had emanated from the Emperor alone, and that a refusal would be taken as a personal insult. He pointed out that opinion was divided on the question. The plan had been vigorously criticised in the Council of State. It was said that the Coronation meant submitting the election of the Sovereign to the head of the Roman Church, that it would cause the clergy once more to raise their pretensions and institute a dominant religion. The Protestants were indignant. They declared that such a thing would be unconstitutional and prejudicial to the different sects which were on an equality with Catholicism before the law. The philosophers were still more enraged, and proclaimed that a Consecration was impossible in an age of reason, and would entail numberless dangers to the power of the State.

The Cardinal-Legate was well informed. The opposition in Government circles was so violent that the Emperor was obliged to come forward and apologise himself in the Council of State for the project which he had so much at heart. He spoke of the advantages which would result from such a ceremony, the prestige which the presence of the Pope would give to the Revolution, and the corresponding set-back to the Royalists. He scoffed at the threat of dangers. " What will the Consecration be," said he, " but an invocation made to the heavenly powers in favour of the new dynasty, an invocation according to the ordinary forms of the ancient religion which is the most generally respected in France?" "There can be no magnificence in a ceremony without religion," he added, "especially in Catholic countries." "As regards the presence of priests at the Coronation, I hold it best to summon thither the greatest and most distinguished of them, the Pope himself." Then, to carry the vote, he added: "Gentlemen, you are deliberating in the Tuileries at Paris. Suppose that you were deliberating in the British Cabinet in London as the Ministers of the King of England, and that you had just learnt that the Pope had crossed the Alps to consecrate the Emperor of the French, would you consider such tidings as a triumph for England or for France?" This was a mere piece of rhetoric, which dazzled at first but would not bear examination.

It convinced no one, and removed none of the objections. Acts were necessary to show that nothing was being sacrificed in return for the Consecration, and that the same prudent attitude was being maintained towards the Catholic religion; that the same substantial protection as before would be afforded to the other sects, and that men's fears were vain and imaginary. At the same time it was desirable to show to Rome the advantages to be gained by being complaisant to the Emperor of the French. Accordingly it was judged expedient to issue several decrees, promising: the reduction of the chapels-of-ease, so that their number should not be more than was actually needful for the faithful; the dissolution of the society or association known as the Fathers of the Faith, the Adorers of Jesus, or the Pacanaristes; the obligation of every religious association of men or women—with the exception of the Sisters of Charity, the Hospital Sisters, the Sisters of St. Thomas, the Sisters of St. Charles, and the Sisters Vatelottes—to ask leave of the Emperor before incorporating themselves and to produce their laws and regulations; the establishment of a special Ministry for Religious Affairs and the appointment of Portalis as Minister, whose name was an assurance both to the philosophers and men of religion; a solemn pledge that none of the rights asserted by the Organic Laws should be abandoned on the ratification by the Council of State of the Bull concerning the institution of bishops, "those clauses of it being *ipso facto* rejected which are or may be contrary to the laws of the Empire and the privileges, liberties, and principles of the Gallican Church."

But Napoleon, while threatening Rome, showed her at the same time his friendly intentions. The Press attacked the Pope. It hinted that the Government had some intentions on the States of the Church. The *Publiciste* announced that the Pope had decided to resign the Papal throne. Immediately, even before the Legate could move in the matter, an urgent letter was sent to the Chief Magistrate. The Prefect of the Police brought the editor of the *Publiciste* into court and bade him to declare the document, public or private, in which he had found the announcement he had printed. The same day appeared an angry article in the *Moniteur*, whose author it would be idle to seek:

"The *Publiciste* has announced to Europe in one of its latest numbers that great changes are about to take place in Lower Italy, that the Papal States are to be dismembered, and that

Cardinal Fesch is to play a great part in these events."

"If France were to interfere in such affairs, it would not be with the intention of dismembering the Papal territory."

"But who has disclosed these important intentions to the *Publiciste*? An Augsburg journalist. And whence did this journalist get his information? From a paid agent of England. And what are England's intentions? To alarm the Continent, to frighten his Holiness, to make Europe believe that she is resting on a volcano and that France wishes to overthrow all things for her own advantage. The journalist of Augsburg draws his pay, but what about the *Publiciste*? . . ."

There followed a string of threats and a tremendous warning. Six days later the Emperor returned to the subject in the *Moniteur* like a journalist who knows his trade. He passed in review the rumours that were current, and ended with this declaration: "We have said, and we repeat, that if France were to use her influence with regard to any changes affecting the Sovereign Pontiff, it would rather be for the advantage of the Holy Father and to increase both his dignity and domains than with any intention of diminishing them." The favourable impression of this could hardly be destroyed by the announcement: that the Emperor was unlikely to forget either the duties which attached to the powers that had been granted him by the *Comitia* of Lyons or the personal glory he had gained by twice giving back their independence to the conquered States which he had twice conquered. But although he left this door open for retreat, he hoped that the Cardinals would not see it. He felt certain of the Legate, and he was not wrong, but still he redoubled his attentions to him. Not only did he pin the Grand Star of the Legion upon his camail with his own hand in the Invalides, but he also caused to be inserted in the *Moniteur* the letter with which the Grand Chancellor had sent his brevet to the Cardinal: "You are the first foreigner, my Lord Cardinal, whom his Majesty has decorated with the Legion of Honour. This distinction is justly due to the representative of the Sovereign Pontiff, to the illustrious prelate, the skilful politician, and statesman-like minister who has won the gratitude of France and the admiration of Europe."

Finally he personally wrote two letters from Pont-de-Briques direct to the Pope on the 3rd of August (Thermidor 15th). In the one he assured him of the consequences which might result from the extradition of the Franco-Russian emigrants, and announced that they had been set at liberty; in the other he assured the Pope on the subject of the Organic Laws of the Italian Concordat: "We have ordered the Vice-President to submit to us as soon as possible the scheme for putting in force the Concordat. Our intention is to examine rigorously every clause of it and to remove anything that may be prejudicial to what has been agreed on between us."

Thus in this political see-saw, which he thoroughly understood, he allowed the balance to be on the side of the Pope; at least, he made it appear so. These were indeed only promises, but they were such as would most appeal to the Pope.

Napoleon was of opinion that his nicety was well timed, especially as Talleyrand also had addressed by the hand of his secretary, Bishop Bernier —the principal promoter of the Concordat—a detailed note to Caprara on the 18th of July (Messidor 29th), wherein he met all the objections of the Cardinals in a tone that showed plainly the offence a refusal would give to the Emperor. "His Majesty," wrote Talleyrand, "instructs me to express his great surprise that the confidential proposal which he made to his Holiness about his coming to Paris for the ceremony of the Coronation should have met with any difficulties." And after enumerating the advantages which the Church would gain from his journey, "so useful to religion," and after hinting that the Organic Articles were but one reason the more for his Holiness's coming to France, the Minister emphasised the sacred claims on the gratitude of the Church which the Emperor had displayed to the Holy See and all Europe: "The reopened churches, the restored altars, the clergy and priesthood organised, the endowment of chapters, the foundation of seminaries, the 20 millions set aside for the payment of ministers, the guaranteed integrity of the States of the Church, the cession of Pesaro, the fortress of St. Léon, and the duchy of Urbino to his Holiness, the conclusion and ratification of the Italian Concordat, the rapidly proceeding negotiations for the Germanic Concordat, the re-establishment of the foreign missions, the deliverance of the Eastern Catholics from persecution and the enforcement of their protection by the Divan—these were the benefits conferred by the Emperor on the

Roman Church. What other Sovereign could lay claim to having done so much within the space of two or three years?"

From vindication Talleyrand passed on to meet the objections. Chief among these was the constitutional oath. But what had this oath to do in reality with his Holiness's journey. "The taking of it was to constitute an entirely separate ceremony in the presence of the people and certain officials properly appointed by the Government in the *Senatus Consultum*. Besides, why should a meaning be attached to this oath which it did not bear? "Laws of the Concordat" only meant the Concordat itself. "Freedom of worship" did not mean approval of the different creeds. Then, as to the assurances to be given: "His Majesty undertakes to consider all claims on the subject of the Organic Articles with his usual justice and impartiality." The so-called Constitutional bishops would be recalled to a sense of their proper duty. "No demand or request compatible with the rights of the Sovereign or the honour and welfare of the French nation will be refused. His Majesty does not invite his Holiness to come and consecrate the first moments of his Empire in the name of Heaven without fully and worthily recognising the honour and greatness of such a privilege." The rest was smooth sailing. The letter of invitation to be transmitted by two bishops: "Certainly, if it is possible for them to absent themselves from their vast dioceses at a time when they are accustomed to pay their pastoral visitations." The use of the Roman service: "His Majesty knows well the venerable and sacred character of the usages of the Church, and his present request is but another proof of his respect for them." All details of the ceremony were to be settled mutually in Paris, but the Pope was urged to arrive there on the 18th of Brumaire, the day already fixed, "unless some unforeseen circumstance should delay him for a few days."

While Bernier penned these letters, while Fesch busied himself officiously promising wonders, and Talleyrand redoubled his persuasions, Caprara also made supplication, urging the advantages of a prompt acceptance, the dangers of refusal, and the inconveniences of delay. But he was over-zealous, and, by wishing to do too much, furnished Consalvi with the occasion for fresh objections. Had Caprara misunderstood Talleyrand? Had Talleyrand been inexplicit, or had he purposely slipped in a certain phrase as a sop to the opposers of the Emperor's plan? However that may be, Caprara had made the proposal that his Holiness should come to Paris "simply to perform the Consecration of the Emperor," whilst the Coronation would be considered as a purely civil ceremony which would take place separately at the Church of the Invalides, whence the procession would proceed to the Champ de Mars.

Consalvi had already sharply rebuked Caprara in his dispatch of the 1st of August (Thermidor 13th) with being too hasty, with having declared that the Pope had decided to come when nothing was really settled, and having thus put the Holy Father in a false position if the answers of the French Government were unsatisfactory and the plan might happen to fall through. On receipt of

Caprara's last note the Secretary now raised "a most essential" point which might possibly upset the scheme of this troublesome invitation: "His Holiness has learnt with extreme surprise that the Holy Father is to perform only the Consecration of the Emperor." On the same day he wrote to Fesch, who had at last succeeded in getting his finger in the negotiation: "The Holy Father has been asked to travel to Paris to perform the ceremony of the Coronation and the Consecration. If he accepts the invitation, he insists that the ceremony shall not be abridged. Such an abridgment is directly contrary to the invitation which was at first made to him." The Secretary then exactly recapitulated the terms of the invitation, and insisted on the Coronation forming an integral part of the ceremony. "It is sufficient," he said, "to read through the service to perceive the importance which the emperors attached to receiving their crown as well as their Consecration from the Pope. They considered in their piety that the acceptance of this crown from the hands of Christ's Vicar endowed them with an especial grace in ruling and governing their subject people with justice and foresight."

Fesch, without any further instructions, hastened the same day to answer that there was no question of separating the Coronation from the Consecration. "There might *perhaps* be," he wrote, "before or after the Consecration, a purely civil ceremony in which the Emperor should receive a crown, a ceremony which would serve as a pattern and example for future occasions, but that would not prevent the Emperor first of all being crowned by his Holiness in the ceremony of the Consecration." Consalvi was not satisfied. His diplomatic sense was so keen that he discovered the snare before Fesch and Caprara knew that it had been set, probably before Napoleon had thought of setting it. He was led by that single sentence of Caprara through a series of deductive conclusions to believe that in some way or another Napoleon would refuse to receive the crown from the hands of the Pope on the pretext of regarding it as a sign of vassalage. Seeing, however, that there was little expectation of his preventing the journey, he determined that if it did take place the Church should reap the advantage and triumphantly behold the Revolution in a humble and supplicating position before her. Accordingly he wished the assurances given him by Fesch to be confirmed. That "perhaps" disquieted him. He insisted on receiving from Paris a solemn and absolute pledge that the Pope should perform both the Consecration and the Coronation. Fesch answered stoutly that he was himself entrusted with the negotiations and could enter into any engagements, whereupon Consalvi, on the 16th of August (Thermidor 28th), reiterated his criticisms of the scheme.

At the same time the Secretary replied to Talleyrand's note. This reply was dictated by the Pope after consultation with the Sacred College. It represented accordingly the latest stage of the negotiations. The Pope declared himself satisfied with regard to the constitutional oath as far as the laws of the Concordat were concerned, on condition that by this was meant the Concordat only and not the Organic Laws which the Government had declared to be capable of alteration and improvement. About the declaration concerning freedom of worship he was not content. He demanded that the freedom of worship mentioned in the oath should be declared to refer only to civil toleration of the sects and the security of the people who composed them. As regards the ceremonial: "He accepts the assurance given by his Majesty that the service to be used at the Coronation shall be in no way different or other than that employed on all such occasions, and that the sacred rites prescribed by the Roman service-book for the crowning and consecration of a Catholic Sovereign by Christ's Vicar upon earth shall be preserved without alteration." The Pope also accepted the assurance that the taking of the oath prescribed by the *Senatus Consultum* should be made the object of a separate ceremony, altogether distinct from the Coronation and Consecration at the hands of his Holiness. The oath to be taken by his Majesty in this first ceremony was to be none other than that in the Roman service-book, the word "Emperor" being always substituted for the word "King." The ceremony of the crowning and the Consecration was indivisible; that was well understood. The Coronation was a necessary and integral part of the ceremony. Finally, the letter of invitation was first of all to make mention of religious matters and the advantages to be gained by the Pope's journey, such as the entire re-establishment of religion throughout France and the removal of abuses.

Several interviews were held between Consalvi and Fesch on the subject of this note of August

16th, for the acceptance of it by the minister involved a formal acquiescence in all the stipulations which it contained. In these interviews Fesch lost his temper, and displaying the violence of his character endeavoured to gain his point by bluster. Then he drew back, apologised, and ended after a few unimportant alterations by accepting all the conditions laid down by the Pope. After the note had been discussed for twelve days and finally moulded into the shape mentioned above, the two negotiators determined to affix the date of the 28th of August (Fructidor 10th) to it. The next day Fesch officially accepted its conditions. He insisted of his own accord on the indivisibility of the ceremony. On the 30th (Fructidor 12th) Consalvi acknowledged his acceptance. Yet the Secretary still raised another objection: "The Pope being invited to travel to Paris for the express purpose of placing the Imperial crown with his own hand upon the august head of his Majesty, he does not think it compatible with his dignity that the same ceremony should be performed by any other hand during his Holiness's stay at Paris, however exalted the person entrusted with the ceremony may be. The dignity of the Holy Father will be injured if the ceremony to be performed by another hand has not been already gone through before his arrival to perform that which is the subject of the present invitation." The difficulty here was solely about the civil ceremony, for all the conditions of the religious ceremony had been fixed. Fesch replied that he was unable to see in what way the dignity of the Sovereign Pontiff could be injured by the performance of a purely civil ceremony during his stay in Paris. How could he assure the Holy Father that the civil Coronation should take place before the Pope's arrival, when it was held impossible to separate the two ceremonies? Later he proposed that these details should be forwarded to the Legate, who could treat about them on the spot. Consalvi consented, and on the 2nd of September (Fructidor 15th) he officially announced that the Pope had determined to come. On the 4th (17th) he informed Talleyrand of this, and notified him that the letter of invitation could be sent, and the few outstanding questions settled in Paris.

Thus it might be said that the Pope had consented to come into France without having received any positive pledges, either of the restoration of the Legations or of the abolition of the Organic Articles, or of any definite advantages to accrue to the Catholic religion in France—that he was contented with vague assurances and indefinite promises. On the other hand, certain formal engagements had been entered into between him and the Minister for Foreign Affairs as well as Fesch; these were on the following subjects: (1) the terms of the letter of invitation and the manner in which it was to be conveyed; (2) the interpretation of the constitutional oath; (3) the strict observance of the Roman service-book, the indivisibility of the ceremony of the Consecration and Coronation, and the imposition of the crown by the Pope; (4) The separation of the civil from the religious ceremony. At every stage of the negotiations, from their opening in May to their close in September, the Court of Rome had not varied in their demands and the Court of Paris in their acceptances. Consalvi was justified in thinking the terms of the agreement to be immovably settled. Although he obstinately continued to refuse to accompany the Pope to Paris, he could at least congratulate himself with the assurance that the journey, though disagreeable to him, would be of advantage to the Sovereign Pontiff.

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Either to mark his dissatisfaction at the long delays he had endured or because he had determined from the first not to be bound by the engagements made in his name, the Emperor took no notice of the terms which had been asked and accepted concerning the letter of invitation. As soon as he had received the news that the Pope had consented to come, he wrote to him thus from Cologne on September 15th: "Most Holy Father, the happy effect of the re-establishment of the Christian religion upon the morality and character of my people leads me to beg of his Holiness yet another proof of the interest taken by him in the welfare of myself and this great nation at one of the most important moments in the history of the world. I pray him to come and give the loftiest religious character to the ceremony of the Consecration and Coronation of the first Emperor of the French. This ceremony will acquire additional glory by being performed by the hands of his Holiness himself. It will draw down on us and our people the blessing of God, who according to His will and by His decrees disposes of the fates of empires and of dynasties. Your Holiness knows the sentiments by which I have long been animated, and will judge accordingly of the pleasure given me by this opportunity of displaying them anew."

Such was the letter, unofficial in form and without any of the titles by which the Christian princes were accustomed to salute the Head of the Church; it contained none of the promises and excuses which had been so insistently demanded by the Court of Rome. There was not a word about religious interests or the private conference on outstanding questions; there was no promise, no guarantee, however vague. It was an imperative summons, with its harshness unconcealed beneath the familiar tone. There was in it no sign that the Emperor held himself to be in communion with the Church and claimed to be anointed and crowned as a Catholic. He was simply concerned with the ceremony being as grand and imposing as possible.

This letter was conveyed by a General, an *aide-de-camp* of the Emperor, instead of by two bishops. He was promoted first *aide-de-camp* on purpose for the occasion, "and is," wrote Napoleon to Fesch, "a distinguished officer for whom I have a great regard." He was, indeed, a brother of the Bishop of Saint-Brieuc, but that did not make him any more a bishop himself. This officer, Caffarelli, was ordered to request the Pope to arrive by the 18th of Brumaire (November 9th). "It does not matter," said the Emperor, "if he does not arrive until the 15th or 16th, for we can easily put off the ceremony for ten or fifteen days if necessary. Provided that he is this side of the Alps before Brumaire 12th I shall be satisfied." The 12th of Brumaire was the 3rd of November; it was the 29th of Fructidor (September 16th) when Caffarelli set out from Cologne; he would not be at Rome before the end of the month. Thus thirty-three days were given by Napoleon to the Pope in which to prepare for and make such a journey. This was the most astonishing demand of all in the eyes of those who remembered the deliberate slowness of a pontifical journey such as that made to Vienna by Pius VI. Caffarelli reached Rome on the 29th of September (Vendémiaire 7th of the year XIII). Fesch hastened to request an audience, and on the 30th presented the General, who delivered the letter that had been entrusted to him. The Pope was greatly mortified, even angry. He thought of retracting his promise since this was the way in which the Emperor kept his word from the beginning. On the 2nd of October (Vendémiaire 10th) Consalvi transmitted a note to Fesch. The Pope demanded that the Emperor should send another letter wherein it should be expressed "that religious interests were the principal object of the journey, and that the results of it would be of inestimable value to the Faith." The next day Fesch answered that this object was sufficiently insisted on in the note addressed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Legate on July 18th. He expatiated on the inconvenience that would be caused by the demand for a new letter: the deputation to receive the Pope at the frontier had been appointed, was already on its way, the Prefects and Generals had received their orders; the carriages had started; the people were awaiting him with expectancy, the clergy with hope. To dispatch another messenger and to demand a second letter was to deceive the confidence of the Government, which had not expected further difficulties to arise about the execution of a plan which they had proudly announced to the whole of France. Fesch implored, threatened, and blustered. Did they dare to call the Emperor's good faith in question on account of a simple slip of the memory very natural in the midst of such important affairs? The Pope hesitated to decide, and laid the question before the cardinals. The majority of them considered a rupture imminent, but they had recourse to the advice of the Cardinal della Somaglia: "It is to the good of the Church that your Holiness should go into France." On the 6th (Vendémiaire 14th) Consalvi announced to Fesch that the Pope had agreed not to demand another letter. He was going into the country to Castel-Gondolfo, and would start on November 3rd. Fesch, who was bent on getting the Pope to Lyons by All Saints' Day, was far from agreeing. He insisted on haste. The Emperor himself requested the Legate to represent to the Pope that the deputations from the army, the cities, and the fleet were hastening to reach Paris by the 18th of Brumaire; that it would be very difficult to put off the ceremony many days; that the Pope should come in twenty, not thirty-three days, and arrive by the 18th of Brumaire; and that the ceremony should take place on the following Sunday. All this availed nothing. It was necessary for the Pope to provide for the government of the Church in his absence, and to settle several urgent matters. The demands to be made of the Emperor had to be prepared, and the speech before the Consistory to be composed, in which the reasons for the Coronation that Napoleon had refused to insert in his letter might be at any rate laid before the Sacred College. "A demand accompanied with such sentiments as these," the Pope was to say, "is not only in itself striking evidence of the piety of the Emperor and his sense of duty towards the Holy See, but it is supported by positive declarations of his determination to protect still further the Sacred Faith which he has already endeavoured, with the most commendable activity, to retrieve from its former ruinous condition."

At last all was ready for such a journey as the Master of the Horse and his subordinates in the papal household were little accustomed to. The retinue consisted of the Cardinals Antonelli, Borgia, Di Pietro, Caselli, Braschi, and Basan, four archbishops *in partibus*, six prelates, two Commanders of the Guard of Nobles, the Master of the Horse, two Masters of Ceremonies, five *abbés* holding different offices, a surgeon, two grooms of the chamber; these, together with private servants, coachmen, grooms, and artisans, made up a company of 108 persons, travelling in four divisions. The first, consisting of one four-horse carriage, two six-horse, and three six-horse baggage-wagons, set out on the 31st of October (Brumaire 4th). The second, of two carriages and two wagons, set out on the 1st of November. On the same day the third, supplied with twenty-eight horses, started with Fesch. In the fourth and last came the Pope with the majority of his suite, in ten carriages, drawn by seventy-four horses. Pius

VII first of all celebrated Mass at the Altar of the Confession in St. Peter's, and was then accompanied on his first stage by the nobles of Rome as well as by all the cardinals who were not going to make the journey.

CHAPTER IV

THE PREPARATIONS

Napoleon's uncertainty—The *plébiscite* completed—The result of it known to the Emperor—He modifies but does not publish it—Endeavours to confuse the popular election with the religious consecration—He is unable to announce the expectation of the Pope's arrival—If the Pope did not come!—Difficulties caused by the delay—Ignorance of what to expect—Ségur the Grand Master of the Ceremonies—His letter to Napoleon—Will the Pope come?—The Emperor does not answer, but objects to the Invalides and suggests Notre Dame—This is an indication—Preparations in the neighbourhood of Notre Dame—The jurist Portalist and expropriation by persuasion—The decoration of Notre Dame—Palaces prepared for the reception of the Pope—The dresses—Denon's objections—Regnaud d'Angely and the tailors—Preparations by the Master of the Horse, the Grand Chamberlain, and the Grand Marshal—Ségur at last satisfied of the Pope's coming—Preparations at Notre Dame—Church furniture required by D'Astros—The Marquis de Brunoy's canopy—Furniture used by the Pope—New requirements at the last moment—Charlemagne's adornments—The German insignia at Nuremberg and Aix-la-Chapelle—Those sent from Aix—The French insignia—Their use by the Capetian kings—Their preservation at St. Denis—Doubts of certain antiquarians—Those at the Museum of Antiquities—Charlemagne's sword discovered at a second-hand dealer's—The sceptre—The staff of the Precentor Guillaume de Roquemont—Napoleon relinquishes his intention of using the insignia of Charlemagne—His insignia newly made—His passion for Charlemagne apparently diminished—Question of the ceremonial—In spite of his acceptance of the Roman Service the

Emperor thinks of altering it—Difficulties thus raised by Napoleon—Inextricable confusion caused by his wishing Josephine to be crowned.

DURING the five months that this long uncertainty endured Napoleon passed through many varied and natural emotions. After seeing Caprara's hopefulness he had not doubted an instant that the Church of Rome would hasten to accept his request. But, on the contrary, he met with an opposition that he had not expected and demands that aroused his indignation. To a ready acceptance he would have probably replied by rewards of which he would have afterwards repented; but before hostility barely disguised by bargaining he drew back affronted. He was in the strange position of having to await the long-delayed outcome of a negotiation that he was obliged to keep secret, yet which was gradually becoming known to all, before being able to fix the time and ceremony of his assumption of the Imperial dignity, which could only be completed by the taking of the constitutional oath. True he had exercised the full Imperial power since the day of Floréal 28th (May 18th), when the Senate had put into his hand the *Senatus Consultum,* with its proposal to the French people to fix the hereditary Government in the family of the first Consul. Yet it was not the *Senatus Consultum* but the popular vote which would make him Emperor. The voting was finished and it might be thought likely that he would have hastened to proclaim the result, if only to show how the decision of the Senate had been ratified. Far from it, he waited for a period of more than seven months.

It was true that the method of taking the votes entailed considerable delay before all of them could be collected from so many scattered polling-places. But these delays had long been ended, yet none the less Napoleon guarded the secret of the appeal to the nation. By increasing the formalities he had gained time. After the result of the *plébiscite* was published he would have no excuse to delay the taking of the constitutional oath, and the Empire would preserve intact its democratic foundation. On the other hand, by keeping back the result of the voting until the eve of the religious ceremony, and by overlaying the constitutional oath with the pomps of the pontifical coronation, he would leave it a matter of doubt as to whether the Empire was founded on Popular or Divine right.

At the end of August, the 6th of Fructidor (August 24th), Napoleon had written to Portalis, at that time Minister of the Interior: "You ought to have by now the total of the votes on the question of the Hereditary Government. Add in those of the armies and the navy, and let me know the net result. There should be more than three million votes." This seems like a command, yet Portalis was only in a position to obey it on the 27th of Vendémiaire (October 18th). "The votes," he wrote, "amount to 2,962,458, to wit: 2,959,891 in favour of Hereditary Government, 2,567 against it. The land forces have given, together with a number of addresses, 120,302 votes for the proposal; the navy has given 16,224; the trading-classes have given 1,764 votes for and 11 against the proposal." The military figures displeased Napoleon, either because they showed the numerical strength of the forces, or because it was inexpedient to gauge their enthusiasm with mathematical accuracy. He crossed out 120,302 and wrote with his own hand 400,000. So too he changed 16,224 into 50,000. Then he altered the addition, making the total 3,400,000. The Senate kept these figures secret until the Emperor, certain of the speedy arrival of the Pope, and unable to alter the fixed date of the 18th of Brumaire, decided on the 3rd of Brumaire (October 26th), to present the Senate with the *Senatus Consultum*, stating the result of the poll undertaken by the Senatorial Commission. After the 27th of Vendémiaire the votes in favour were supposed to have increased to 3,574,898, the votes against to have remained at 2,567. The *Senatus Consultum* passed on the 15th of Brumaire (November 6th) was still to be kept secret and only published in the *Moniteur* on the 6th of Frimaire (November 27th). On the 10th of Frimaire (December 1st), the eve of the Coronation, the Senate was to present to the Emperor in a body the result of the appeal to the nation. These facts show a premeditated design; they are an index to the intentions of Napoleon. He sought to confuse the national with the Divine election, and consequently his vexation and uneasiness at the prospect of his not being able to carry out the scheme he had in view are perfectly comprehensible.

All this time he suffered great embarrassment while waiting for an answer from Rome. He was unwilling to disclose his secret either by beginning preparations which would announce the certain arrival of the Pope or by ordering others which would indicate his absence from the ceremony. Yet it was impossible to do nothing; for the date, Brumaire 18th, had been fixed and the day was approaching. It was ridiculous to say that he was expecting the Pope if he was not coming. The Invalides, although very suitable for an almost entirely civil ceremony, was unfitted for any occasion of religious pomp. Besides, whatever building might be chosen, several days would be required in which to prepare it, to clear the approaches, arrange the decorations, draw up the programme, decide on the precedence, and regulate the ceremonial.

At the time of Napoleon's departure for Boulogne on the 29th of Messidor (July 18th), nothing had been settled. Ségur, Counsellor of State and Grand Master of the Ceremonies, to whom all the details had been entrusted, endeavoured with infinite pains and taste—though with a spice of malice—to throw an air of royal splendour over the scene of the inauguration of the new Government. He was possessed of a fertility of resource and a tasteful ingenuity which were invaluable for the occasion. He drew his ideas from all the Courts of France, Germany, Italy, and Russia which he had seen or lived in, and adapted them admirably to the present circumstances. Yet, although he had come to a complete understanding with the Senate and the Prefect of the Seine as regards the state to be kept up after the Coronation, he was unable to frame a programme or arrange the ceremony of the Coronation itself owing to his uncertainty as to what was desired by Napoleon. At last, on the 6th of Thermidor

(July 25th) he endeavoured with all the skill that his long career as a courtier had taught him to obtain some precise information from the Emperor. "I could wish," he wrote, "that it might be possible for Your Majesty, who is insensible to fatigue, who passes with rapidity from the most lofty conceptions to the smallest details, and who rests from one labour only by engaging in another—I wish, I say, that he would examine and approve of this plan that it may be put into execution without delay." After this preface he asks a few questions and makes some criticisms. "Here are the principal points on which I wish to have Your Imperial Majesty's decisions: Will the Pope come? The order of the Procession and the ceremony in the Church must be arranged differently according to whether he is present or absent. Will there be a Consecration or only a Coronation? In the first case it will be necessary to regulate the ceremonies of the anointing and suppress those which may be too humiliating for Your Highness, besides settling all the ceremonies to be performed at the altar." After this remark, which was inspired by the ancient rancour of the ambassador who had been refused audience by Pius VI, Ségur made several other criticisms. He objected to the bees on the cloth of velvet and the decorations of the throne. "All the artists are agreed that it is not possible to weave the likeness of bees skilfully, and that such a design produces a ludicrous effect at a distance, while its details are indistinguishable." As to the place of the ceremony, he has no doubt that it will be the church of the Invalides as mentioned in the decree. Trepsat the architect, with Fontaine and Percier, will submit in a few days a plan of the church with a scheme of the stands and a design for the throne. The dresses are being prepared and Ségur thinks that nothing will be found wanting. The important question is the Pope!

To this appeal the Emperor answered nothing, not a word about the Consecration or Coronation. He was unwilling to speak about the state of the negotiations, or how the Roman service, "humiliating for his Majesty," had been unconditionally accepted in his name. But he did express himself openly on the subject of the Invalides. It would cause great difficulties to perform the ceremony there. Since there was no choir the bishops and clergy would be ill placed. All the chosen persons would not be able to find room in the church unless the deputations from the army were absent, which would be wholly indecorous. Then, where were the thrones of the Emperor and Empress to be placed? "On the other hand," said the Emperor, "it is believed that the church of Notre Dame can easily hold twenty thousand people. The throne can be placed in the choir and will there be sufficiently visible. If there is any religious ceremony the details will be discerned only by the priests and such men whose superior intellects have bestowed upon them a faith equal to that of the eighth century."

He ended with the remark that "everything seems to point to the suitability of the cathedral." Nevertheless Ségur was to make a final inspection of the Invalides so as to ascertain for certain that it was impossible to make the necessary arrangements within it. The Emperor also observed that the improvements to the cathedral would be lasting and permanent, while the expenditure on the Invalides would be lost. As to the procession, when reduced to thirty carriages the Emperor thought it should not last more than an hour. Leaving the Tuileries at eight o'clock in the morning, it would be at Notre Dame by nine ; one hour for the ceremony, and it would reach the Champ de Mars at eleven. Without doubt it would be necessary to pull down several houses near the approach to Notre Dame, but " this expense will not be money thrown away, since it will assist in making a great clearing for traffic and ceremonial processions." If after this the Commission, composed of the Arch-Chancellor, the Intendant-General, the Minister for Public Worship, and the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, did not understand that the Invalides was rejected, it could only be through a desire to thwart his Majesty. This it carefully refrained from doing.

The demolitions around Notre Dame were begun immediately. It was no small matter. It was necessary to pull down the chapel of the ancient Chapter, together with all the houses built against it, to open out the square before the great doors as far as the new colonnade of the Hôtel Dieu, and to destroy a number of houses behind the church. The house of the choir-boys near the city bridge had to be pulled down, the entrance to the Archbishop's palace enlarged, and all the walls of the buildings laid bare by the demolition decorated. Even then Fontaine, who was appointed Clerk of the Works, regretted that he had not time to pull down all the houses belonging to the hospices on the right of the Rue de Parvis approaching the church. There was little opposition to fear on the part of the hospices and church authorities, but it was different with the other house-owners. Compulsory acquisition for the public benefit had not then been thought of by the authorities. They worked by persuasion. Valuers were appointed, but the Minister did not agree to the price they fixed. He appointed others. Then the house-owner unreasonably objected. "Assuredly," wrote Portalis to the Emperor concerning such a case, "the opposition of this house-owner could not be allowed to stop the authorities at a moment when it was necessary to press forward. However, since on such an occasion as Your Majesty's coronation it is necessary that the citizens should look upon that august ceremony only as a blessing, I sent for the refractory owner. I made him see how impertinent was his resistance, and told him that I hoped to obtain from his patriotism and good sense that which I should be unwilling to take by force. He showed himself chastened by my rebuke and promised to obey my orders implicitly." It is to the jurist Portalis that the credit of the invention of "expropriation by ministerial persuasion" belongs.

The work went on by day and night, at night by the flare of torches. The Emperor also wished that the Rue de Rivoli, La Place du Carrousel, and the Quai Bonaparte should be entirely levelled and paved. This was no light task. Last of all, Fontaine entirely changed the aspect of Notre Dame. He took away from within the great ironwork screen of the choir and the two altars to the right and left of it. He drew up a plan of platforms and galleries which would enable the deputations from all over France at least to be present at the Coronation, though they might see nothing of the ceremony. On the outside he intended to case the noble church in a pseudo-Gothic covering to which was attached a portico and an immense porch rising to the height of the separation of the towers. This led to a vast gallery running along the whole length of the church, on the side nearest to the Seine, and finally ending in the Archbishop's palace. Napoleon had insisted on this corridor, and Fontaine took the opportunity of utilising an awning which had been made for the King of Etruria's visit to Malmaison in Prairial of the year IX, but which, unused and unpaid for, was still in the hands of the furnisher.

The demolitions around Notre Dame were on the whole an improvement, except for the destruction of a few valuable historic monuments. But the advantages which Napoleon asserted were to be gained by deserting the Invalides—among others that the expense of decorating Notre Dame would give permanent results—were mostly illusory. But even if the cost had been more than 700,000 francs, Napoleon would not have thought it too great a sum to spend on the building in which the Pope was about to consecrate him.

Already he was preparing a palace for the reception of his Holiness. At his command Le Pavillon de Flore was made inhabitable, and the works completed in the Grande galerie so that the passage to Le Pavillon from the Musée might be ready for use. The Emperor went to see which of the two castles of Compiègne and Fontainebleau would be the most suitable for the first meeting. Compiègne was lacking in everything, but Fontainebleau could be made tolerable by means of a few hasty improvements and a little furniture brought from Paris or borrowed on the spot. "The Emperor was received as if in a barrack"; but the walls and roofs were strong and well able to shelter the Pope and the two Courts.

Such was the state of affairs when Napoleon left Boulogne on the 8th of Fructidor (August 26th) for Belgium and the Rhenish Departments. If the Coronation was to take place on the 18th of Brumaire (November 9th), there were scarcely two and a half months left. The preparations went on in haste, though no certainty was felt as to who was to be the consecrator. The dresses, as regulated by the decree, were made under the superintendence of Isabey. Ségur gave the orders, and Regnaud (de Saint-Jean d'Angely) his advice. This last personage was not wanted, and his capacity was doubtful. "By naming a man Counsellor of State," wrote Denon to the Emperor, "you make him a great personage, but all your omnipotence cannot make him a man of taste." Denon had already designed the great Seal of the State, and, aggrieved that he had not been employed about the Coronation, he proposed to the Emperor to design a dress for him which should be both dignified and magnificent. But he did not succeed in ousting Regnaud, who, constrained by a sense of his own importance to keep within his house, sent instructions to the embroiderers, costumiers, tailors, and shoemakers which were apparently little heeded, since he wrote: "These work-people have a great idea of their own importance just at present, and are very little disposed to perform their duties or to keep their places." This is almost equal to the remarks of Portalis to the house-owner in the cathedral square, and shows that a feeling of arrogance had quickly arisen among the new aristocracy of the Empire.

Neither costumier, embroiderer, nor tailor knew whom actually to obey, for besides Isabey, Regnaud, Ségur, and Denon, M. Rémusat, the first Chamberlain, busied himself in the matter in his capacity of Keeper of the Wardrobe. It was he who, of his own accord, bade the designers and embroiderers alter the details of their work. Nevertheless progress was made, and there was some likelihood of things being got ready in time. In the Master of the Horse's department the matter was easier. Coulaincourt had reckoned that he would need 140 new horses, eight of which were to be a team of light bays for the Emperor's carriage and eight dapple-grey for that of the Empress—the equipment only of a Sovereign. Having obtained them, he prepared the liveries, and urged on the coachbuilders, for thirty or forty carriages were necessary. The Emperor's coach was ordered from Getting according to Percier's and Fontaine's design. But the design was thought too costly, and, "for economy's sake the richness and magnificence of it was a good deal curtailed," so that the final cost was 114,000 francs. The Grand Chamberlain, Churchman as he had been, felt certain of the Pope's arrival, and arranged accordingly. The Grand Marshal, accustomed to the unexpected and knowing how to act independently of his chief, was astonished at nothing and ready for anything. But the uncertainty continued to be most vexatious for the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, since all the arrangements at Notre Dame depended on the coming of the Pope. The matter was only settled on the 20th of September (Complémentaire 3). He had forty-eight days in which to get everything ready. There were the thrones to be prepared, one of which, approached by some almost perpendicular steps, occupied the whole end of the nave. There were hangings for all the walls to be embroidered or painted with the arms and insignia of the Empire. There were carpets of blue velvet on which golden bees had been powdered profusely, despite Denon and Ségur. The curtains shutting off the choir and extending along the galleries were draped in immense folds and hid the pillars, so that the glorious building of stone was entirely draped in tinsel and frippery. Then there were the vessels for the service which were demanded by the Abbé d'Astors, Canon of Notre Dame, "for it is customary at the coronation of kings," he said, "to have everything new." He asked for, not only a monstrance, two crosses, two censers, two book covers, a ciborium, a holy-water vessel, an offertory plate, two other vessels, a chalice, two pairs of vases for oil, and a bowl to match the vases, but also sixteen copes in cloth of gold with eight tunics, two chasubles, a stole, two maniples, a lectionary, and a pastoral stole, as well as for 2,425 francs for church linen and the complete equipment of the staff of Notre Dame, consisting of four ushers, twelve choir-boys, and two porters. The ushers were to have dresses costing 1,160 francs, gilded and inlaid halberds costing 254, and baldrics worth 900 francs. But d'Astros let slip out of his hands the splendid canopy which had been employed at the Marquis de Brunoy's funeral; 12,000 francs were asked for it without the repairs, which was too costly. He ordered another which Fontaine declared to be mean in appearance; to this they added a great quantity of plumes, the total cost being 8,239 francs.

Besides the appurtenances customary in France, there were others required for the Pope. The Legate had forwarded to the Surveyor-General some designs for the pontifical chair, the *flabelli* and the faldstool; these Fleurien hoped to procure cheaply. The chair was of a peculiar but simple shape, and only required a few ells of crimson velvet and lace. "If it should be objected," he wrote, "that the chair is too simple compared with the Imperial throne, we can say that we thought that we could not do better than to provide the Pope, at Paris, with a seat such as he is accustomed to at Rome. People of taste will see in this only a delicate compliment." The *flabelli* could be easily provided, and as to the faldstool, was not Jacob Demalter the most consummate of cabinet-makers! But Fleurien was in too great a hurry to stop and congratulate himself. On the 29th of Brumaire (November 20th), twelve days before the Coronation, the Legate went over all the objects one by one which would be needed when the Pope officiated: the throne for his Holiness; four stools for the assisting cardinal-deacons, the deacons, and the under-deacon of the Mass ; a large faldstool for his Holiness, with cloth cushions embroidered with silk ; a smaller faldstool of iron, with a cushion covered with cloth of silver silk with a white ground and gold embroidery ; another faldstool without drapery ; carpets for the steps of the altar and the pavement and steps of the sanctuary ; a cloth of a special kind for the altar, and seven candlesticks, the seventh of which was to stand behind the cross ; seven other candlesticks for the acolytes ; eight others at the entrance of the choir ; also some credences, some high-backed benches with two steps, others with one and no step, others without any backs, and on these benches stuffs of certain colours and proportions ; also pulpits, tables, and yet more tables. At this moment it was enough to cause a man to lose heart. Prodigies of labour were required, and they were forthcoming.

At Aix Napoleon could not have failed to obtain for his Coronation some idea which he might believe to be Carlovingian, or which was represented to him as such. Perhaps he had thought of bearing off the adornments which were said to have belonged to Charlemagne, and which were made use of at the coronation of the German Emperors ! But he found that the greater part of these were preserved at Nuremberg. When the King of the Romans was to be crowned, the Elector of Mayence gave notice to the magistrates of Aix and Nuremberg. Thereupon certain deputies conveyed from Nuremberg the golden crown, weighing fourteen pounds, the ring, the sceptre, the orb, the shoes, the sword which had been brought down by an angel from heaven, a flowing alb, a stole, and a mantle with a belt; from Aix was sent a shrine covered with diamonds, in which was preserved the blood of St. Stephen, the ordinary sword of Charlemagne, with his baldrick, and a gospel written in letters of gold, which he had made use of.

Unable to avail himself of the treasures at Nuremberg, Napoleon ordered only the ordinary sword to be sent to Paris. This was not much. But there were some French as well as German adornments which had belonged to Charlemagne, though to employ them would perhaps be a too open imitation of the ceremonial at the coronations of the Capetian kings of the third dynasty. These monarchs, although themselves usurpers, had not hesitated to keep up the tradition of that famous Emperor by decking themselves on the day of their coronation with the insignia which they pretended to have once belonged to him. Besides this, they used afterwards to send from Reims one of their Intendant-Controller-Generals of the Plate-chest, suitably escorted, to carry to the Collegiate Church at Aix a pall of black velvet striped with watered silver silk, trimmed with ermine and embroidered with the arms of France, to be laid upon his tomb.

These French ornaments of Charlemagne were kept at the Abbey of St. Denis, whence, at the King's orders, sent through the Master of the Ceremonies, they were borne by two ecclesiastics to Reims. The most important of these were, said Dom Millet, "the crown of the Holy Charlemagne, Emperor and King of France, which is of the

Imperial form in massy gold and encircled with precious stones of great price; the golden sceptre of the Holy Charlemagne, Emperor and King of France, on the handle of which is the likeness of the aforesaid holy King, seated on a chair flanked by two lions and two eagles, with the Imperial crown on his head, the sceptre in one hand and the orb in the other. And all this is wrought of pure gold, resting on a *fleur de lys* of gold and white enamel surmounting a golden apple crusted with precious stones." Then there was "the hand of Justice, made from a unicorn's horn mounted on a shaft of gold"; and "the royal sword of the Holy Charlemagne, King of France and Emperor," the blade of which was very beautiful and of fine temper; the pommel, the hilt, and the guard of the same were of massive gold studded with precious stones. Lastly, there were "two golden spurs covered with *fleurs de lys* on an azure ground adorned with rich velvet fastenings embroidered with gold."

Several antiquarians, however, were very doubtful about the authenticity of all these. Montfaucon did not hesitate to declare that if the pommel and the guard of the sword were ancient, the hilt and the rest of it were of a much later period. The sceptre was thought to have been made by the goldsmiths of Charles V, who took Charlemagne for his patron. The other objects were scarcely more genuine, but in such cases the mere tradition is sufficient to arouse belief.

The Revolution, however, had not spared the treasures of St. Denis. The sceptre, the spurs, and the hand of Justice were to be found in the

Cabinet des Antiques at Paris, but the crown and sword had disappeared. The citizens Monge, Gamier, and Leblond had been commissioned by the Directory of the Department of Paris to bear away the treasury of St. Denis, and they had not scrupled to risk their reputations for patriotism by squabbling round the melting-pot for the possession of the crown. As the Emperor wished for the crown of Charlemagne, it would have to be made. The pattern followed was not that depicted in Dom Félibien's engravings, but a choicer design such as had been described by good authorities. As regards the sword, it had been agreed that the one from Aix would suffice, when Ségur received a letter from a certain M. Léorier living at 219, Rue Montmartre, opposite the Rue des Vieux-Agustins. Léorier stated that he had a sword in his possession which had formerly been in the treasury at St. Denis. It had been carried off in 1792 by the Commissioners of the Directory of Paris, and sold on the 25th of Vendémiaire of the year VI, with a quantity of miscellaneous articles from the royal wardrobe and other places. It had been recognised as genuine by the antiquarians of the Bibliothéque, by a keeper of the treasures of St. Denis, and by M. Auguste, who, at the coronation of Louis XVI, had given it into the hands of M. de Clermont-Tonnerre, who held the office of Constable. The Palace was greatly excited at this news. Ségur sent the letter on to Duroc, who forwarded it to Talleyrand, and it was agreed that this sword should be selected and shown to his Majesty on his return to Paris. But at this moment a new sword of Charlemagne appeared just as genuine as those of Aix, Nuremberg, and St. Denis—more so, even, for there was nothing left of it except the blade. It was said to have been long preserved in the treasures of St. Denis, and to have been sold with the contents of the wardrobe in the year VI. Fleurieu was very put out, and, after consulting the Prefect of the Seine, and Lenoir, the Director of the Museum of the Petits-Augustins, he concluded that "after long research the choice lies between a hiltless blade possessing numerous characteristics of antiquity and showing several traces of design according to the fashion of that barbarous age, and an entire sword with a hilt of gold displaying the same characteristics and evidences of a like origin; a sword which M. Denon feels certain is the one that was used at the consecration of the kings." It was agreed that this one should be selected, and that it was useless henceforth "to bring to light or discover any more sword-blades which might possibly have belonged to Charlemagne."

It was determined to give the hilt another knob, as the present one was enveloped with a covering of gold worked into lozenges, with a *fleur de lys* in each lozenge—a piece of goldsmith's work which was relatively modern. The sheath also was now covered with green velvet powdered with golden bees, but except for these dynastic alterations the sword remained unchanged. It was certainly that which is to be seen by the side of Louis XIV in Rigaud's portrait, which was drawn and engraved by Gaignières, Montfaucon, and Félibien. If it was not Charlemagne's sword, it had at least been in the possession of the State for seven or eight centuries. The spurs were put aside, because of the *fleurs de lys*, which were too visible upon them. A new shaft was made for the hand of Justice, which had certainly been in use since the consecration of Philip Augustus and seemed to be the same as that which is portrayed upon the seal of Hugh Capet. But since it was thought a little too simple, the top of the shaft was adorned with a jewel of gold, ornamented with fine stones and pearls—a piece of tenth-century goldsmith's work—and with three cut gems—an amethyst, a topaz, and alga marina—one of them antique, the others of the eighth century. The sceptre, with its legend plainly engraved on the step of the throne on which Charlemagne was seated—*Sanctus Karolus magnus, Italia, Roma, Germania*—and the spreading lily, from which the throne sprang, together with the *fleur de lys* at its tip and the *fleur de lys* on the clasp of the mantle, had been made in the second half of the fourteenth century. But as they possessed a respectable antiquity of 450 years, it was deemed expedient to make use of them. Until the consecration of Louis XIV this sceptre had been of the same length as the hand of Justice—that is, not more than a cubit. It was then remounted on a golden shaft six feet in length and of plain design. This shaft had been destroyed, and to replace it search was made among the remains of the treasure of St. Denis for a staff which bore some tokens of antiquity. Such a one was found, "the silver-gilt Precentor's staff studded with gems" of which Dom Millet speaks and which, according to Dom Félibien, was given to the Abbey by Guillaume de Roquement, Precentor of St. Denis—even as is written on it at length:

"D'argent fist faire ce baston.
L'an M C C C quatre vingt
Quatorze ne plus ne moins.
Ceux qui le tiendront en leurs mains
Veuillent prier après la vie
Sue son âme soit ès cieux ravie
Qu'il fut gardé
Et en grandes festes regardé
Car pour loyauté maintenir
Le doibt chantre en la main tenir."[1]

At first no notice was taken of these verses; afterwards, when attention was called to them, they were covered over with a velvet wrapping. The exceedingly doubtful genuineness of all these trappings, in spite of their sometimes inconvenient proofs of antiquity showing them to be suitable only for the Capetian kings, determined Napoleon not to avail himself of them, and he refrained from holding in his hand the Precentor's staff. The insignia of Charlemagne were allowed to figure in the procession, but not upon his person. Indeed, he was running counter to an opinion which he usually valued highly. Roederer, who had been to see these ornaments cleaned and repaired, wrote to Prince Joseph: "I cannot conceive why such an interest should be taken in these relics. If Charlemagne had used the sword of Clovis, we should not be making this fuss to-day about the sword of

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[1] "Of silver he had this staff made in the year 1394, neither more nor less. Let those who shall hold it in their hands pray that his soul may be taken into heaven after this life. Let it be kept safe and looked upon in great festivals. To maintain loyalty the Precentor should hold it in his hand."

Charlemagne, and by honouring the relics of that Emperor now Napoleon is preventing the legacy of his own to his great-nephews. I believe that he would appear a greater figure to posterity by grasping the sword of Arcola and Marengo." This was true; it seemed scarcely suitable that Napoleon, after receiving the blessing of the Pope, should gird old *Joyeuse* to his side. The anachronism would be too great. Yet for all that he could scarcely wear the sabre he had borne at Lodi or the Pyramids. It would have needed the uniform of a General, Consul, or Colonel of Grenadiers to set it off. But with the dress Napoleon had chosen a theatrical broadsword only could be worn. The sword which he had had made for him as First Consul, and in the pommel of which had been inserted the Regent diamond, was no longer suitable. With the stones from it they decorated the broadsword for the Consecration, which was soon to be rejected in its turn on a new style of weapon being adopted. The showy broadsword has disappeared, the sword of his victories has remained; it is that which has earned and deserves glory.

Napoleon now determined to have not only the sword but all the adornments of Imperial dignity newly made. Doubtless he thought it somewhat less imposing to array himself for such an old-time and venerable ceremony in insignia which came straight from the goldsmith's shop and were marked with the sign of "the violet monkey." There was a crudity about such procedure which jarred upon him, but still his position thus became logical. The new dynasty had no wish to avail itself of second-hand trappings, or, rather, the Emperor had examined all this Royal trumpery and had declined to avail himself of it.

Moreover, he now felt that his fit of devotion to the past was a good deal abated. The cure at Aix, whatever good it may have done to Josephine, was having a marvellous effect upon Napoleon. It had almost cured him of Charlemagne, who was deprived of his column and statues. An inquiry into the reason of this will disclose a new tendency influencing Napoleon's mind.

Occupied with other things, he had up to that time accepted the Roman service-book without a murmur for the ceremony of his Consecration and Coronation. Fesch had been duly authorised to agree solemnly in his name to this demand of the Holy See. But what was this that Ségur had written to him about "the humiliation of the throne"? What was this service-book? On the 14th of Fructidor (September 1st), on his way from Mons, he had written to Fouché to send to him at Aix the Abbé de Pradt, one of his almoners whom he intended making master of the ecclesiastical ceremonies. He then wrote to Portalis, bidding him arrange everything and regulate the ceremonial. He did this without informing him that he had entered into a most solemn engagement on the matter. Accordingly Portalis answered: "The affair will not be difficult to arrange. The part of the ceremonial unsuitable to our customs can be changed. That part only will be used which is worthy of a great Prince and of religion. By taking part from the Roman service-book and part from the old French ceremonial, we can select all that is dignified and suitable in either, and so frame a service worthy of the august occasion." Napoleon agreed. He bade Cambacérès make a translation of the Roman service for the consecration of kings. "I wish you," he wrote, "to forward it to me altered in such a way as to suit our customs, and yet so that it will not give the least offence to the Court of Rome." Thus Cambacérès and Portalis were set to revise the service of the Catholic Church. Napoleon, however, imposed secrecy on them both, "that there may be no vain discussion of the matter."

Thus on the morrow of the very day on which he had obtained the consent of the Pope to his desire, he broke several of the engagements which had entered into his name—the text of his letter to the Pope, the conveyance of it by a General instead of two bishops, and the revision of the Roman service. Perhaps it was necessary; but he should have learnt the conditions before agreeing to them. What would he say to the Pope to justify this proposal to adulterate, alter, and modernise the service?

It seemed as though he had raised these difficulties on purpose, for as regards the first two at least he had acted solely from caprice. He now added yet another, which seemed insoluble. Animated by gratitude towards his wife, a spirit of opposition towards his brothers and sisters, and an impulsive freakishness of nature unexpected in him, he decided and announced that Josephine should be crowned and consecrated with him. Such a thing had not been known for two centuries. No queen had been honoured with such a ceremony since Marie de Médici. No queen had been crowned and consecrated at the same time as her husband for centuries and centuries. For the coronation of Marie de Médici there were good or at least plausible reasons: the age of the reigning King, his first marriage, the likelihood of a regency. Here there were none. The hope of the dynasty did not lie in Josephine; it was not through her that it descended; the regency would not devolve on her at the Emperor's death; she had not even been appointed by the Constitution guardian of the Imperial minor adopted by Napoleon. To consecrate and crown Josephine was a mere piece of sentiment, since there could be no excuse, political or otherwise, for it.

Yet he wished her to be consecrated and crowned, like himself, by the Supreme Pontiff of the Catholics. . . . Had he indeed forgotten that he had never asked the Church to bless his union with this woman? He seemed to have lost sight of the fact that she with whom he wished to share his throne, this Empress for whom he demanded the threefold unction of the Consecration, this *Victoire* to whom the unsuspecting Pontiff had addressed intimate and flattering letters, was in reality but a concubine in the eyes of the Pope himself and the great majority of faithful Catholics. If her true position were revealed, her participation in the ceremony would appear a hideous blasphemy, and, as regards himself, an unpardonable piece of hypocritical deception.

CHAPTER V

THE EVE OF THE CORONATION

The Pope harassed on his journey—The dispatch of the sealed letters—Necessity of putting off the Coronation—Arrival of the deputations—Resulting embarrassment—The Emperor urges on the Pope's journey—Robbery of the Pope—Death of Cardinal Borgia—The retinue in confusion—Letter from Napoleon to Pius VII—The meeting at Fontainebleau—The Austrian Protocol—The hunting comedy—Dinner and concert—Want of respect shown to the Pope—Pius VII learns that Napoleon and Josephine are not married—He demands their marriage—Napoleon's dilemma—Reason for his not having married Josephine—The compulsory marriage—Question of the ceremonial to be followed at the Consecration—Who had compiled the ceremonial?—That of Reims suggested—What was it?—The ceremonial of Reims only applicable to the Capetian kings—Its absurdity for Napoleon—Is the Roman service accepted by Fesch preferable?—Examination of the Roman ceremonial—It is unacceptable to Napoleon—New ceremonial composed—Submitted to the Pope—The four successive editions marking the stages of the negotiations—The bishops and the order of institution—Shall the Pope be carried on the *Sedia Gestatoria?*—The Emperor's arguments—The Emperor will himself assume the Imperial insignia—Suppression of the Presentation—Question of the religious oath—The blessing—The anointings—How many?—The Holy Ampulla and General Beau harnais—Who will wipe away the unction?—The Pope's resistance—Blessing of the insignia—The Bestowal of the insignia—The crown—Who shall crown the Emperor?—Napoleon's arguments—Conclusion arrived at—The Enthroning—The question of the *Te Deum* and the Constitutional oath—It is settled to the advantage of the Pope

—The question of the Communion—Alternatives objected to by Napoleon—He is excused the Communion—Why Napoleon refused to communicate—His fear of blasphemy—A proof that he regarded the Communion as a sacred ceremony—The orb—Napoleon's character—He intends that none of the insignia fitting for an Emperor shall be lacking—The foolishness of the ceremonial—The Consecration like a ballet—Inexperience of the actors.

THE Pope was harassed and hurried on his journey by Napoleon. According to Talleyrand's calculations, he could not reach Paris before the 11th of Frimaire (December 2nd). The Emperor had put off the ceremony from the 18th of Brumaire (November 9th) to the 5th of Frimaire (November 29th), and now found himself obliged to alter once more the date settled on in the sealed letters which, according to the Royal custom, he had addressed to all the grandees and public bodies appointed by the *Senatus Consultum* to assist at the taking of the constitutional oath. In these letters there was no actual mention of the Pope, and the ceremony could have taken place without him. In them the Emperor said: " Since Divine Providence and the laws of the Empire have made the Imperial dignity hereditary in our family, we have appointed the 5th day of the month of Frimaire next for the ceremony of our Consecration and Coronation. We could have wished to have assembled together in one place on this solemn occasion all the citizens of the French Nation. But seeing that such a thing, though dear to our heart, was impossible of accomplishment, and desiring that this solemnity should at least be honoured by the presence of the most distinguished citizens in whose witness we may take the oath to the French People prescribed by Article LII of the Constitutional Act dated Floréal 28th of the year XII, we have set forth this letter to you bidding you repair to Paris before the 1st of the month of Frimaire next, and there make known your arrival to our Grand Master of the Ceremonies. And we pray God that He may preserve you in His holy keeping."

These letters were made out on the 7th of Vendémiaire (September 29th), and dispatched on the 4th of Brumaire (October 27th), and addressed to the holders of governmental posts and offices, but not to the deputations who set out on the march to Paris in military fashion so as to arrive there on the 11th or 13th of Brumaire. Five thousand six hundred and thirty-six men from the land forces and 564 sailors had now to be halted at Melun, Versailles, St. Germain, Pontoise, and Meaux and quartered upon the inhabitants. In addition there were deputations of the National Guard, who reached Paris about the 15th; each guardsman had the right to draw five francs a day, which was defrayed partly by the departmental rates and partly by the Public Treasury. There were civil deputations whose members drew no pay and who were terribly straightened in purse by the incredible rise in price of lodging, food, and clothing. A wretched garret cost fifteen francs, and a meal three francs. The camps were without commanders, the troops without officers, the administration lacked directors and the county courts magistrates, the national life was arrested, and every day the expenses increased. Napoleon dispatched courier after courier to hasten the Pope on his journey. "It will be less fatiguing," he wrote, " to hasten the journey." As the only delay, he agreed to wait until the 11th of Frimaire, but " if the Pope had not arrived by that date the Coronation would take place and the Consecration have to be put off." Even then it would require five or six days to make the final arrangements, so the Pope should be at Paris on the 5th or 6th.

Not only was Pius VII aggrieved at this enforced precipitation, which he found incompatible with his dignity, contrary to custom, and somewhat destructive of the results which he had expected from his journey into France, but he was also exceedingly annoyed at an attack to which one of his convoys had been subjected between Placentia and Alessandria. " Three brigands of a Genoese band, who had long been wanted," had stopped a baggage-wagon which was without an escort and stolen from it a quantity of precious objects, " among others a staff of silver gilt for the Papal ceremonies and some golden rosaries with beads of pure gold." The police of Abdallah Menou pretended that the whole was not worth more than two hundred crowns; the Papal chamberlains estimated the loss at a good deal more. But the Pope thought only of the carelessness which seemed to him to be due to a lack of proper respect. At Lyon he was obliged to leave behind Cardinal Borgia, who was suddenly taken ill and died four days later. Borgia was Prefect of the Propaganda, and, in the absence of Consalvi, who had remained at Rome, the most trusty adviser of the Pope among the cardinals.

Yet the treatment of the Pope was at least polite. The Emperor had sent Cardinal Cambacérès, Aboville the senator, and Salmatoris, the Master of the Ceremonies, to greet him at the frontier and escort him on the way. The carriages sent for his convenience were handsome, the inns were decently prepared, and the roads put into a good condition. Thus the Mont Cenis road was surveyed and levelled, fences being provided along all the precipices, and the road over the Praz was pushed forward with such activity that it was rendered ready for use. Military honours were paid to him in every place as though he had been the Emperor. The civil authorities showed themselves most assiduous, the clergy were only too forward in showing their enthusiasm, while the people received the Vicar of Jesus Christ as though he were a messenger from God. But was this due to lack of understanding, want of wit, or excess of zeal on the part of the organisers of the journey? After St. Jean de Maurienne all order in the retinue disappeared. "Every one journeyed alone, I might almost say in confusion," wrote a prelate in the Pope's following. All hurried and pressed forward on hearing that Melzi, the Vice-President of the Italian Republic, was about to cross the Alps and that horses would be scarce.

The Emperor, meanwhile, even in the official letters welcoming his Holiness to his dominions, pressed him in urgent terms. "I hope," he wrote to him, 20th of November (Brumaire 29th), "to have the happiness of seeing his Holiness in a week and expressing my sentiments to him in person." In Paris, at any rate, Napoleon was reminded of the formal expressions used by the Christian princes, such as "the devout sons of his Holiness," and that they ended their letters with the salutation: "And I pray God that He may grant to you, most Holy Father, long years as ruler and governor over our mother the Holy Church." These he now complied with; compared with that of Cologne, it was a respectful letter.

His actions were less formal. He would not go forward to meet the Pope, but being by chance stag-hunting, he would happen to fall in with him.

"By going to my palace of Fontainebleau, which is on the road, I shall be able to enjoy his society a day sooner." Precedents for the ceremonial of such a meeting in France were rare, for ceremonies were thought little of in the times of Pepin the Short and Louis le Débonnaire. The etiquette observed on Pius VI's journey into Austria seemingly supplied a model: Joseph went to receive the Pope five miles from Neustadt, and it was not fitting that the Emperor of the French should go any farther from his capital.

At Fontainebleau the apartments called the Constable's had been prepared for Pius VII, and furnished, as though by magic, with the most beautiful mirrors and hangings of Aubusson, the Savonnerie, and Tournay. Denon had hung there several pictures which he considered religious; it is to be hoped that they had not come originally from Rome. In the withdrawing-room were "The Daughters of Bethulia Marching before David," by Roselli, a "Holy Family at Rest," by Valerio Castelli, and the "Martyrdom of a Female Saint," by Burini; in the bedchamber were a copy by Mignard of Raphael's "Holy Family," and a "Christ on the Cross" by Rubens. To all this the Pope was indifferent—" this Pope," as Cacault wrote of him, " who spends nothing on himself, and who has only two suits and two pairs of boots." He disliked all personal magnificence. It was thought that he would like at least to say or hear Mass, but no outlay was made on the sacred vessels, which were borrowed from Notre Dame.

The Emperor reached Fontainebleau on the 1st of Frimaire (November 22nd), and was informed on the 4th (25th) that the Pope was approaching. At midday he left the palace on horseback in hunting dress, and rode along the Nemours road. At the obelisk on the outskirts of the town he stopped and asked some questions. In front of the artillery-yard he received a salute of cannon from the cadets of the military school. At the cross of St. Herem he listened to the report of the first huntsman, for the comedy of hunting and the chance meeting was to be kept up to the end. The Pope's coaches were then seen approaching. The Emperor dismounted, and the Pope got out of his carriage. " The two representatives of God " met and embraced. The Emperor's carriages then drew near, and Napoleon got in first. This was said to be, and rightly, a polite Italian custom, so that the right side should be given to the guest. They then returned to the palace between lines of troops, saluted by the thunder of cannon and the pealing of bells. The Great Officers, Talleyrand among them, received the Emperor and the Pope at the bottom of the steps. The two Sovereigns then mounted the golden staircase together as far as the landing which separated their two suites. Then came an interval for rest. After that the Pope visited the Emperor and

Empress, and the Great Officers were presented. Then the Emperor visited the Pope, and after him came Prince Louis. Joseph II had been accompanied by an archduke at Vienna, so a prince was necessary at Fontainebleau. There was no precedent, however, for the dinner to which the Emperor " bids his grand-marshal invite his Holiness " on the 5th of Frimaire, and at which Fesch, Eugène Borghese, Prince Joseph, Princess Julie, and the Arch-Chancellor of the Germanic Empire were present, as well as the Emperor and Empress ; nor for the concert in the Empress's apartments which the Pope declined to attend, retiring as soon as it began.

The Pope was offended. But it was not merely because of this astonishing reception, in which the mere honours due to a temporal sovereign had been paid, to the exclusion of all recognition of him as the Supreme Pontiff and Head of the Catholic Church, while every possible breach of Papal etiquette had been committed as though on purpose ; but because he had just heard from Josephine herself that she was not married, and the announcement had excited his most intense surprise. The Pope saw the trap into which he was walking, and he could only suspect Napoleon of having set it for him. It was bad enough that Napoleon's concubine should have been presented to him as his lawful wife, when she was in reality outside the laws of the Church, and living in deadly sin ; that he had been induced to write to this woman flattering letters in which he had recognised her as Empress of the French and his dear daughter in Jesus Christ ; that he had recommended to her the protection of the Catholic Church; but to be asked to give the most holy of the Sacraments to her, the threefold unction with the precious chrism reserved for the priests, and made of oil and balm *quia per oleum infusio gratiæ, per balsamum odor bonæ famæ designatur*—this indeed passed all bounds. And it was an avowal on the part of the very woman herself which had put him on his guard. He cared not to consider the reasons for this avowal, with what intention it was made or to serve what purpose: the fact was certain and that was sufficient. Napoleon was warned that the Pope would not take part in the ceremony of the coronation unless proof were given him that the sacrament of marriage had been administered to the Imperial couple.

What was Napoleon to do? Break off all negotiations and proceed to the civil coronation while the Pope was still staying in Paris? That would set all Europe laughing, and put him in the ridiculous position of having tried to deceive the Supreme Pontiff and failed. It would scandalise all the clergy and Catholics by informing them that the author of the Concordat was sharing his bed and throne with a woman who was not his wife. Napoleon's reasons for omitting to have his marriage blessed by the Church would not bear publication. They sprang from many ideas which were seething in his brain yet were repulsive to his heart, and which the uncertainty about his physical capacity caused to be suspected by him. To reveal the secret was impossible. He had continually refused to submit to a religious marriage, but was now driven into it by his respect for, if not belief in, a religion which he was unwilling to profane.

At Mombello, when General in command of the army of Italy, he had obliged his sisters, Elisa and Paulette, in spite of his own personal risk, to be married to Baciocchi and Leclerc according to the rites of the Church. If the news of this had got abroad, he would have run the risk of being recalled and stripped of his command, or something worse. When Consul at Paris he had desired his brother Louis and his sister Caroline to be religiously married to Hortense and Murat. Apparently, then, he believed in the virtue and efficacy of the sacrament of marriage, and that only a religious marriage was binding and valid. But at all these four marriages Josephine had been present at his side. Never for an instant had the thought entered his mind of asking the priest who had officiated at the union of his brothers and sisters to perform the same office for himself and Josephine. He had never intended a divorce, but he reserved the power of procuring one. He desired the bond to be so loose that it could be untied at will. Life had prospered with him, his destiny had become great. The woman was dear to him, he loved her, believed her useful, and continued to find her desirable. He was grateful for all that she had taught him of the world, and for the society into which she had introduced him. His glory had begun with and through her, and he was melted by her tears. He had carried her unwittingly with him in his marvellous ascent to the heights on which he now stood. He was quite willing to share with her his crown and throne, but he did not desire to pledge to her his whole future. And it was this future that the Pope demanded for her—not for her own sake, but because of the unalterable laws of the Church. On this point no diplomacy could persuade, no high-handedness compel. Nothing could avail against the *non possumus*. He perceived this, and entering Paris with the Pope on the 7th Frimaire, he received from Fesch, who had been supplied with Papal dispensations, the sacrament of marriage on the 9th. Fesch bore witness to this marriage to the Pope and gave a certificate of it to Josephine.

Thus was Napoleon compelled to give in on a question which he had very much at heart. He was forced into a marriage which he had formerly avoided, not perhaps altogether because it would irrevocably settle his future, but because it offended his conscience; for he felt that a true wife, a wife in sight of God, should possess a purity and maidenliness of soul and body such as could not be looked for in Josephine. On other points the struggle with the Pope was renewed from the 7th of Frimaire to the 11th, under conditions which explain and justify the bitterness felt by the vanquished against the conqueror.

The question of the ceremonial was under discussion. We have seen in what way Portalis, "the philosophic Christian," acting as Minister of Public Worship, had proposed to revise the Roman service and bring it into line with the thought of the age; how he had found it expedient to draw up a new ritual, majestic, imposing, and modern, drawn partly from the ceremonies prescribed by Rome and partly from those customary at Reims. But a committee at least was necessary for such work. Cambacérès—not the Cardinal of Rouen but the

Arch-Chancellor—and Ségur, Grand Master of the Ceremonies, who had formerly been refused as ambassador at Rome, were scarcely competent to take their places on it. But to them were added the Abbé de Pradt, and probably M. de Talleyrand, whose capability was less doubtful. In spite of such associates—and many others doubtless—the work was not so easy as Portalis had imagined. Even when as regards the French ritual they had procured the schooling of the chapter of Notre Dame by the clergy of the cathedral of St. Remi, it was only to find that it was absolutely inapplicable to the founder of the fourth dynasty. Every detail of the traditional ceremony recalled the sovereigns of the third House, and bore witness to their method of government, the institutions which they had created or accepted, and the laws which they had made. This ceremony, removed from Reims and applied to a person who had no connection with Hugh Capet, would be nothing but a parody. Even for the lawful descendants of the Capetian House the tradition once broken could never be renewed. It consisted of observances which were only worthy of respect because they had been continuously performed from the earliest ages on the same spot and by men of the same family. They were the customary rites, and the omittance of them would have been a surprise and a shock. But if for some cause or another they should be omitted for a single generation, their virtue would vanish, the atmosphere once favourable would be dispelled, and in place of reverence they would be greeted with laughter.

Even by omitting everything which preceded the

Consecration—the entry into the city, the prayers at the cathedral, the presentation by the King of his offering to the Church, the general fast throughout the diocese, and the vespers in the presence of the King—even then it was not possible to retain the essential parts of the ceremony, such as the arrival of the Bishops of Laon and Beauvais in procession at the chamber of the King, the questions and answers of the bishops and the Grand Chamberlain, the rising of the King and the clothes which he donned, the long shirt of Dutch linen, the vest of crimson satin cut like a tunic and trimmed with gold lace, the long robe of cloth of silver, the cap of black velvet decorated with a string of diamonds, a bunch of plumes, and a double white egret. After that the procession between two bishops towards the church along the great gallery from the Archbishop's palace to the door of the cathedral, the presentation of the two bishops of the King on his knees to the officiating Archbishop, the holy water, the sprinkling, and the prayers. Then the carrying of the Holy Ampulla in procession. This was an extraordinary procession, in which marched the armed inhabitants of Chesne-le-Populeux, with drums beating and a flag flying, where the Minims, the canons, and regular clergy of the Church of St. Timothy and the monks of St. Remi preceded, with their crosses and banners, the grand prior mounted on horseback, in a cope of cloth of gold, and with the Holy Ampulla fastened round his neck. He rode beneath a canopy given by the King, and supported by four mounted knights of the Holy Ampulla, each preceded by his squire bearing his banner, emblazoned on one side with the arms of France, on the other with his own. The Archbishop received the Holy Ampulla and promised to return it after the Consecration. Then they sang the *Sexte*, and the King took the first oath to the Archbishop—to preserve and defend all the churches of the realm. After this the Bishops of Laon and Beauvais raised him from his seat, and asked the people if they accepted him as King. Then the King took the oaths—to govern the kingdom well, to maintain the Orders of the Holy Ghost and St. Louis, to put in force the laws against duelling. After that came the undressing of the King, who, clad only in his satin vest, was booted by the Grand Chamberlain, spurred by the Duke of Burgundy, and girt with the sword of Charlemagne by the Archbishop. But the sword was still sheathed. The Archbishop retook the sword, drew it, and put it naked into the hands of the King, uttering certain prayers. The King kissed the sword, and, placing it on the altar, offered it to God. The Archbishop again retook it and gave it back to the King, who received it on his knees and then entrusted the sword to the Constable. Preparations were next made for the unctions. The King prostrated himself before the altar; then followed the threefold litanies and blessings and the nine unctions—on the crown of the head, on the breast, between the shoulders, on each shoulder, on the elbow and shoulder-joint of each arm, the King kneeling before the Archbishop; then came the arraying of the King in a tunic, a dalmatica, and a royal mantle shaped like a chasuble and tapering to a point in front. These garments represented the three orders under-deacon, deacon, and priest, to show that the religious and civil power alike proceeded from the same heavenly source, and to bestow on the King the outward rights of a bishop. The Archbishop then bestowed the last unctions on the palm of each hand. He blessed the ring and passed it on to the fourth finger of the right hand, and handed over the sceptre and the hand of Justice. Thereupon the Chancellor of France went up to the altar and summoned the peers of France, the Dukes of Normandy, Burgundy, and Guienne, the Counts of Toulouse, Flanders, and Champagne, the Archbishop of Reims, the Bishops of Laon, Langres, Beauvais, Chalons, and Noyon. The princes representing the ancient peers and the prelates who held the dioceses of the bishop-peers presented themselves on hearing their names pronounced. The Archbishop of Reims took with both hands the crown of Charlemagne from the altar and held it above the King's head. Immediately the eleven other peers each stretched forth their hands to support it. After a few prayers and benedictions, the Archbishop crowned the King. Then he led him at the head of a long procession to the rood-loft; afterwards he brought him to the throne, seated him thereon, kissed him on the cheek, and said, "*Vivat Rex in æternum*." The other peers did the same, and went to seat themselves in their own places. Then the folding doors of the church were thrown wide open, the people swarmed in, the trumpets sounded a fanfare, the Guards without fired a triple salute, all the bells in the city pealed forth, and the cannon thundered. The Chancellor, the Grand Chamberlain, and the heralds-at-arms scattered handfuls of gold and silver. Bird-sellers let loose some caged birds from the top of the rood-loft. The Archbishop returned to the altar and sang the *Te Deum,* accompanied by all the King's musicians.

The High Mass began at the Great Altar, performed by the Archbishop, whilst one of the almoners said a Low Mass, which the King attended, at a little altar before the rood-loft. Only, the two Masses went on at the same time. It was at the Gospel of the High Mass that the King's crown was taken off, and it was from the High Altar that the Archbishop sent the book of the Gospels to the King. At the Offertory the King descended with a long train from the rood-loft, preceded by four lords bearing his offerings, knelt before the Archbishop, kissed his hand, and made his offerings, after which he went back to his throne. At the elevation of the Host the Duke of Burgundy took off the King's crown. Then came the kiss of peace, given to the King by the Grand Almoner and received by the peers from the King. At last the Mass ended. The King, stripped of his royal insignia, entered his oratory, where his confessor waited in his surplice to shrive him. He returned to kneel before the High Altar, and the Archbishop gave him the Communion in both kinds, presenting him with a reserved part of the consecrated wine in the golden chalice of St. Remi. This was the end. The King exchanged the crown of Charlemagne for a lighter one, retook his sceptre and hand of Justice, and returned to the Archbishop's palace in the midst of the re-formed procession. After the first almoner had burnt the King's gloves and shirt, which the holy unction had besprinkled, the Sovereign had the privilege of resting a few minutes.

Such was the Consecration. The Royal feast was the essential and knightly conclusion of it. Then came the procession on horseback to St. Remi, the chapter in which the King was received as Head and Sovereign Grand Master of the Order of the Holy Ghost, and finally the ceremony of touching the scrofulous, which had formerly been performed at Corbeny, in the diocese of Laon, after the King had paid his devotions before the shrine of St. Marcoul, but which, since the consecration of Louis XIII, had been performed at the Abbey of St. Remi, whither the shrine had been removed.

These ceremonies were indisputably of great interest, and their high traditional and symbolic importance could not be denied. They were an epitome of and a commentary on all ancient France, but it was the France of the Capets. They showed, as Bonald said, " that in the first ages of the Monarchy the priesthood was always united to the kingship." They asserted the religious character of the kingly office. By the oath to the bishops, in which he promised to preserve to each of them and to the churches in their charge the canonical privileges and the rights of jurisdiction which they enjoyed, the King recognised what a help to his predecessors the active assistance of the bishops had been. Even in the oath concerning the kingdom he promised that the Christian people should ever preserve the Church of God in peace. He swore besides " to apply himself sincerely and with all his power to destroy throughout all the dominions subject to his sway all heretics condemned by the Church." At every instant of the ceremony he was seen prostrate or on his knees before the consecrator and kissing his hand. All this might be suitable to a descendant of St. Louis. It was explicable in a Monarchy which had grown up with the Church and by means of the Church, that had received from her the consecration of its Divine right and had considered the Government as absolutely inseparable from a State religion. But how could such words and actions be transferred to the Empire from the Monarchy? What interpretation could be given to them in a democratic State in which the clergy, far from being the first order in the State, formed only a class of officials whose chiefs, if they were archbishops, ranked after the presidents of the Imperial Courts, if they were bishops, after the generals commanding departments? How, above all, could they be reconciled with the freedom and equality of worship which were the primordial rights inscribed at the beginning of the Constitution?

It was peculiarly difficult, then, to revert to the ceremonial of Reims, even when softened and brought into line with modern thought as Portalis had suggested. But was it not as dangerous to hold by the Roman service which Fesch had accepted without protestation and which Napoleon had formally pledged himself to follow? Doubtless the Roman service had the advantage of being more simple than the French ceremonial. It was free from the historical, traditional, and local interests which the other contained, of everything which appertained solely to a Capetian King of France. But, being applicable to whomsoever in Christendom should receive his consecration and coronation from the Supreme Pontiff, it was in every way calculated to affirm the supremacy of the Holy See and the Catholic Church over the Sovereign, and the right which the Pope claimed of disposing of States and Peoples according to his will.

The essentials of it were as follows: During the week preceding the Consecration, the Sovereign elect made a devout fast of at least three days and received Communion. In the metropolitan church where the Consecration was to be celebrated, the sword, the crown, and the sceptre were placed on the altar. The height of the platform supporting the King's throne and couch was so regulated that it in no way exceeded that of the Pope's throne and the High Altar.

The Sovereign elect presented himself in armour at the door of the church, where two bishops came to meet him with mitres on their heads, and conducted him, uncovered, to the Metropolitan—in this case the Pope—who was seated on his faldstool, which was placed before the middle of the altar. The Sovereign elect, inclining his head, then made a humble reverence—*humilem reverentiam exhibet*—to the Metropolitan, to whom one of the bishops spoke these words: "The Catholic Church asks that thou shalt raise this glorious soldier here present to the Royal dignity." "Do you know," replied the Metropolitan, "whether he is worthy and capable of this office?" "We know and believe," answered the Bishop, "that he is worthy and fit for the Church of God and for the government of this realm." The Metropolitan then addressed an exhortation to the Sovereign concerning his duties. These duties were, in the first place, to preserve himself in piety and to serve the Lord his God with all his soul and with a pure heart; to guard to the death the Christian religion and the Catholic faith unviolated; to defend them with all his strength against all the adversaries they might happen to encounter; to show a peculiar deference towards the prelates and other priests; and to respect ecclesiastical liberty. The rest of the discourse concerned his subjects. Then the Sovereign, standing upright and bareheaded before the Metropolitan, answered by an oath which repeated all the terms of the exhortation. After this he kissed the hand of the consecrator respectfully.

When the first prayer had been uttered by the Metropolitan, there followed the recitation of the litanies, the King lying prostrate; after that the blessing, then a prayer. The Sovereign elect then knelt before the Metropolitan, who anointed the thumb of his right hand with the oil of the catechumens and made the unctions in the form of a cross on the right arm of the King, on the wrist, at the elbow-joint, and between the shoulders. Prayers. After the unctions the Metropolitan came down before the altar and uttered the Confession. Then Mass began. The Sovereign, who had been clothed in his royal robes, listened to it from his throne until the Alleluia. He was then led before the altar, where he knelt down. The Metropolitan handed to him the naked sword, a prayer followed; then came the girding on of the sheathed sword. The King drew it, brandished it, wiped it on his left arm, and put it back into the scabbard. He knelt down again, whereupon ensued the bestowal of the crown and the prayer which gave all its character to the ceremony: "Receive the crown of the kingdom, which is put upon thy head by the hands—though unworthy—of the bishops in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Which crown thou shalt understand to signify the glory of saintliness and honour and the works of valour. That by it thou mayest not be ignorant of the part which has been given thee in our ministry, so that, even as we are recognised as pastors and rectors of the inward conscience, so mayest thou be a true adorer of God in things outward. Thou shalt assist as defender of the Church of Christ against all her adversaries, and thou shalt show thyself always an able administrator and a skilful director of the Government of thy realm, which has been given thee by God, and has been entrusted thee by the giving of our blessing as representative of the apostles and the saints, so that, adorned with the jewels of virtue and crowned with the prize of eternal bliss, in the midst of the runners of the glorious race, thou mayest be glorified for ever with our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, whose name and office thou shalt be considered to hold."

Then followed the bestowal of the sceptre, afterwards the enthronement, which was accompanied by a prayer similar to that at the Coronation. The Mass continued. At the Offertory the King, with bare head, came and knelt before the seated Metropolitan, made his offering to him, and kissed his hand. At the Communion it was the same.

This is what Fesch and the Emperor had accepted. The wording of the blessings and prayers—some of which had to be translated literally—was no less imperious and precise than that of the Reims ceremonial. Yet already since the Consecration of Louis XVI, although the Latin text had been left untouched, the French translation—which was the only one thought likely to be read—had been strangely attenuated as regards the terms affirming the subordination of the King to the Church. Here no subterfuge was possible. If the Roman ritual was to hold good, it was from the Pope alone and the Catholic Church that the Emperor would receive his crown. He would receive the sword as the defender of the Church and the sceptre for the condemnation of her enemies. How to avoid it, then? The Pope was accordingly presented with the work to which Portalis, Cambacérès, and probably several more distinguished canonists had contributed.

It was made up of the French ceremonial, the Roman service-book, new prayers, and some ceremonies unknown to Reims or Rome. The whole was arranged, translated into Latin, and issued under the imperative form of an "Extract from the Ceremonial relating to the Consecration and Coronation of their Imperial Majesties—Section IV: On the Ceremonies of the Consecration and Coronation" (Imperial Press, Frimaire of the year XIII).[1] It contained fifty-six Articles. In almost each of them the Emperor had put forward certain explanations or justifications so as to avoid the obligations of the Roman service-book, or to introduce some alteration. The Pope both accepted and refused, as appears from the suppressions, alterations, and additions made in the final edition of this " Extract from the Ceremonial." This most interesting discussion explains and makes clear the changes made in the service-book, after Fesch had guaranteed in the name of the Emperor the strict observance of it. At the same time it alone makes comprehensible the unusual nature of the ceremonies, and by justifying the fears of Consalvi, and by showing the weakness of the Pope and the demands of Napoleon, opens new sidelights on the character of the latter. This is the scheme as Ségur presented it.

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[1] There exist to my knowledge four different editions of this extract, all of the same date and all issued by the Imperial Press. By a comparison of these texts I had already arrived at the conclusion that a negotiation had been begun with Rome, and that all the details of the ceremony had been regulated by mutual consent. The publication by the R. P. Renieri ("Napoleon and Pius VII," vol. i. App., Doc. VII) of the actual document has just confirmed my deduction.

The Pope was to leave the Tuileries before the Emperor and to go to the Archbishop's palace, where he would find the clergy assembled, and would put on his robes. He would leave it in procession, preceded by the bishops, marching two deep with their mitres on their heads, and preserving the order of their canonical institution. This was a disputed point. The Emperor wished the bishops to be ranged in the order of their consecration, not institution. " The order according to consecration has been constantly observed in France," he said; " if that of institution is adopted, it will result in several ancient bishops ranking below the new ones." The consecration followed on the nomination by the temporal Sovereign, institution was from the Pope. Besides, certain of the constitutional clergy were consecrated but not instituted. The Pope saw the double trap. He had an important interest in maintaining the order of institution which caused the existence of the bishops to depend solely on his spiritual authority, and gave the Concordat as the starting-point for their ministry. The Emperor yielded.

The procession was to be closed by the Pope. But how was he to appear to the faithful? Was it to be, according to the Roman etiquette, on the *Sedia gestatoria,* carried by a dozen henchmen clothed in his livery of red damask between the two *flabelli* of ostrich-plumes dotted with peacock's feathers, under the spreading canopy of white silk embroidered with gold, the handles of which were borne by eight referendary prelates? "The Emperor desires that his Holiness should not be carried for three particular reasons: the first is on account of the narrowness of the gallery through which he must pass; the second is that such a custom is unusual in France; the third is that this honour has been paid to one of the most hateful men of the Revolution" (Marat, who had had himself thus carried to Notre Dame). "These considerations are submitted to the judgment of his Holiness, who will consider them in his wisdom, and who will be equally venerated by the French people under the canopy and with the procession which will accompany him." The assertion about Marat was misleading. Marat, after his acquittal, had been carried in triumph from the Palais de Justice to the Convention; but what connection had he with Notre Dame? Mdlle. Maillard, who had impersonated Reason there, was a better instance, and it is doubtless from the confusion of the two cases that this strange mis-statement took its source. Napoleon was actuated by another reason which he did not mention : it was that, as he was not to be carried to the cathedral himself, he did not wish any one else to be so ; that the entry of the Pope into Notre Dame amidst the splendours of the Roman pomp might detract from his own entrance. There is something of the mummer about every man who looms large in the public eye. At any rate, the Pope did not insist. He was to go on foot and, after certain preliminary prayers, would mount his throne, where he would say Tierces while awaiting their Majesties.

The Emperor would set out from the Tuileries, go to the Archbishop's palace, there put on the Imperial dress and ornaments, and walk in procession from the palace to the door of the cathedral.

This procession could be looked upon as a reminiscence of the consecration at Reims, but neither the service-book nor the ceremonial allowed the Sovereign elect to present himself at the cathedral clothed in the dress and insignia which the Consecration ought rightly to bestow upon him. According to the royal ceremonial he should have presented himself in a tunic, according to the service-book in armour. Napoleon then considered himself neither as summoned nor elected, but as invested. What, then, was the purpose of the Consecration? Grave as this check was, the Pope did not protest.

On entering the church the Emperor and Empress would be received by Cardinals Cambacérès and Belloy. But these two cardinals were to felicitate the Sovereigns, to present them with the holy water, and to lead them in procession under the canopy borne by the canons to the places which they were to occupy in the choir. They were to perform none of the rites required by the service-book, none of those laid down in the ceremonial. They would not lead up the Sovereign elect and present him to the consecrator nor reply to his questions, nor was the consecrator to give an exhortation on the duties of the Sovereign towards the Church. All this was abolished and replaced by the singing of *Veni Creator*. "The Emperor has desired that these four Articles (presentation, question, answer, and exhortation) be suppressed as never having been customary in France and unsuitable to the present circumstances." The Emperor knew very little about the custom followed in France, for the ceremony of presentation in which the Bishops of Laon and Beauvais took part was obligatory and a good deal more elaborate than in the service-book. The exhortation used actually to be replaced by a prayer to which the King listened on his knees before the altar.

The Emperor would kneel to pray, but it would be at a praying-desk with a throne behind him and a canopy above his head. During this prayer, which would be, besides, of short duration and but intermittent fervour, he would give the hand of Justice, the sceptre, the crown, the collar, the mantle, and the sword to the Grand Officers, who would lay them with the ring upon the altar. The crown and mantle of the Empress, too, would be taken off, and carried with the ring to the altar.

Then there was the oath. In the negotiation between Fesch and Consalvi two demands had been clearly made on the part of the Pope and granted by the Emperor: certain reservations on the subject of the constitutional oath, at the taking of which the Pope refused to assist, and the obligation on the part of the Emperor to take the religious oath as laid down in the service-book. This oath was thus stated: " I promise and swear before God and his angels to enact and preserve law, justice, and peace to the Church of God and to the People under me; to show a religious and proper respect to the priests of the churches of God; to maintain inviolate the privileges which have been conferred and bestowed upon the churches by the emperors and kings; to pay a fitting respect to the abbés, counts, and vassals." The Emperor did not accept the latter part—" all that refers to the promise of maintaining the churches as under the Feudal System and in the possession of property which they no longer enjoy shall be omitted." In addition, the Emperor refused to repeat the oath; he would only ratify and agree to it by the word *profiteor*. Instead of kissing—as he should—the hand of the consecrator, he would touch with both hands the Gospel presented to him by the Grand Almoner. Even this was a great concession, and was paraded as such. " It is considered that a great deal has been conceded by the obtaining of his Majesty's agreement to an oath other than that prescribed by the Constitutions of the Empire." Of what value, then, were the engagements entered into by Fesch which were regarded so lightly and set aside in each Article? Here again the Pope raised no objection.

After the oath the prayer pronounced by the Pope would be taken from the service-book, but the essential words in it would be altered. The service-book contained: *eligimus* ("whom we have chosen or elected"); for this was substituted *in Imperatorem consecraturi sumus* ("whom we are about to consecrate Emperor"). Here, moreover, Josephine appeared for the first time. The service-book not having provided for a double consecration of a Sovereign and his consort, an innovation was made. Every time—or almost every time—when the name of the Emperor occurred, there was added, *et consortem ejus* ("and his consort"). This consort was anonymous, but they knew at Paris that she was named Josephine, not Victoire.

After the prayer came the litanies. According to the service-book, the King prostrated himself while the Pope and the cardinals knelt to recite them. The Emperor and Empress would remain seated. They would kneel only to receive the blessing. But this blessing, which was twofold in the service-book—*Bene + dicere et conse + crare*—the Emperor wished to be threefold as was given at Reims—*Bene + dicere, subli + mare et conse + crare*. He insisted on *sublimare*: "This word has been used in France since the beginning of the Monarchy." He also insisted on a motet during the blessings which was taken from the French ceremonial and which, he said, was suitable to the ceremony. It was actually as follows: "The high priest Zadoch and the prophet Nathan anointed Solomon king in Sion and approaching him joyfully said, May the king live for ever." Only as regards the unctions he was modest. "In the French ceremonial nine unctions were made on the Emperor—or King rather. This number was too large and inconvenient. The service-book admits only of two, one on the right hand, the other on the neck. The last is unsuitable. Unction on the head is to be substituted for it—that is to say, on the forehead and the two hands. The prayers are taken from the service-book." Having thus decreed on what place the unctions should be made, simply because one of the customary places had been inconvenient and the other unsuitable, and having determined that they should be, as in the case of bishops, *in capite et manibus* ("on the head and hands"), Napoleon could have regulated also the liquid of which the unction should be made. Thus he might have claimed certain privileges which were said to be inseparable from the crown of France. The unction which other kings received was made with the oil of the catechumens, that which the bishops received was the chrism, *ut ostendatur*; Pope Innocent III had said, "*quanta sit differentia inter auctoritatem pontificis et principis potestatem*" ("so that it may be shown how great is the difference between the authority of the Pontiff and the power of the prince"). But, according to the French writers, "only the kings of France are anointed with the episcopal chrism." At the Consecration of the King the Archbishop of Reims placed the golden paten of the chalice of St. Remi upon the middle of the altar. The Grand Prior of St. Remi, having opened the Holy Ampulla, presented it to the Archbishop, who drew from it with a golden needle the amount of a grain of wheat of the oil shut up therein. This he put on the paten, and took with the same needle from the chrism " as much as was necessary to consecrate a bishop " and mingled it with the oil. As to the Holy Ampulla there could be no question, and even General Beauharnais—the father of her who was about to be consecrated Empress—had not been indifferent to it, he who had taken the initiative in asking the Convention that the Holy Ampulla might be brought to Paris so that the oil within it might be there solemnly burnt on the altar of the Fatherland. But there was no lack of the chrism. Although the official reports do not mention it, it was the episcopal unction with the chrism which was given to the Emperor and Empress.

" The unctions of the Emperor will be wiped away on the little throne by the Grand Chamberlain, who will then hand to the Grand Almoner the cloth which he has used. The lady of honour who shall wipe away the unctions of the Empress will also hand to her Majesty's first almoner the cloth which shall have wiped away this unction."

The Pope, who had given in about the number and kinds of unctions, here protested. It was not only that lay hands were to fulfil this office, but sacrilegious hands ! those of Talleyrand, the Grand Chamberlain. The Emperor yielded. The Grand Almoner and the Empress's first almoner should wipe away the unctions.

The Mass was then to begin. According to the service-book it contained a special prayer. The Emperor wished that the Mass at Notre Dame should be " the solemn Mass dedicated to the Holy Virgin during Advent as patron of the Metropolitan Church and protectress of France."

After some discussion it was agreed that the Pope should continue the High Mass up to the Alleluia of the Gradual, as in the service-book. The choir would sing the Gradual whilst the Pope with the bishops would recite the prayers up to the Introit exclusively. They would then go on to the blessing of the insignia, the sword, the mantles, the rings, and the crowns. The Emperor desired that this order should be adopted. The service-book provided no benediction. The French ceremonial contained the blessing of the sword, of the gloves (concerning which there was no longer any question), and of the ring, but not for the mantles and crowns. Prayers, then, were to be especially composed, and those suitable for this purpose were to be taken out of the French ceremonial. "His Holiness is prayed to accept them."

The bestowal of the insignia would be done in the same order as the benedictions, except that the bestowal of the ring would precede that of the sword. For the ring there was no formula in the service-book, that in the ceremonial would be used. As regards the sword, the Emperor wished for a change in the service-book. The consecrator said: *Accipe gladium de altari sumptum . . . tibi regaliter concessum* ("granted to thee as king"); the Pope was to say *tibi oblatum* ("offered to thee"). Moreover there was to be added to the motet sung (Psalm xliv.): *et regna* ("and reign"). "This word is taken from the French ceremonial and is suitable to the occasion." The formula in the French ceremonial was to be followed for the bestowal of the hand of Justice and the sceptre. Another was to be invented for the bestowal of the mantles, "since none exists in any ceremonial." The formulæ for the rings and mantles were to be twofold and alike for Emperor and Empress: *Accipite hos annulos* ("Receive these rings")—*Induat vos Dominus fortitudine suâ* ("May the Lord clothe you with His strength").

Lastly there were the crowns. According to the service-book as well as the French ceremonial, the officiant put the crown upon the Sovereign's head. In France the twelve peers supported it, but it was the Archbishop of Reims who placed it. In the negotiations Consalvi had declared that the Pope would not come to Paris if the ceremony of the Consecration was separated from that of the Coronation, or if the Emperor, during the stay of the Pope, should be crowned by any other than he, even in a civil ceremony. He had demanded the assurance that on the present occasion there should be no innovation contrary to the dignity of the Sovereign Pontiff and the usage constantly followed when the Emperors of France and Germany were at the same time crowned as well as consecrated by the Popes. An assurance on this point had been given, as on the others, by Fesch representing the Emperor.

Napoleon felt the difficulty of reverting to it. In the first sketch of the ceremonial which was printed the bestowal of the crown, as of the other adornments, upon him was made by the Pope, only "the Empress on her knees will receive the crown which the Emperor will place on her head." This mattered little to the Pope. The text was shown to him and he accepted it. But afterwards the Emperor declared "that he wishes to take the crown so as to avoid all discussion among the Grand Dignitaries who should claim to give it him in the name of the People. He thinks that his Holiness may be held to have carried out the ancient ceremonial by blessing the crown and uttering a prayer while the Emperor puts it on his head." Would he by such an argument, so unworthy of himself, succeed in convincing the Pope? Did he, as certain French bishops asserted, set great store by the precedent of Louis the Débonnaire, or by the fact that "Charlemagne had said on coming out from the church of St. Peter [where Pope Leo III had just crowned him] that he would never have entered it had he known that the Pope had had the intention of crowning him, since he was unwilling to seem to owe to the Holy See a crown which he held only by his sword," and that from thence had arisen the custom of the Carlovingian emperors to crown themselves? He quoted no authorities, which was well; but he gave this reason, which was a mistake. It would have been better to have given none at all.

As regards the prayer, the Pope was to pronounce that which the Archbishop of Reims pronounced in the French ceremonial when placing the crown upon the head of the King, only by substituting here and there the plural for the singular it would be made applicable to the Emperor and Empress.

Pius VII does not appear to have protested. In every case the points were thus regulated with the consent of the Pope. The Emperor, girt with the sword, clothed with the mantle, holding the sceptre in one hand and the hand of Justice in the other, was to stand upright in prayer before the altar, while the Pope handed over to the Empress the ring and mantle. Then "the Emperor will give back the hand of Justice to the Arch-Chancellor and the sceptre to the Arch-Treasurer, will ascend to the altar, take the crown, place it on his head, and taking that of the Empress in his hands, will crown her. The Empress will receive the crown on her knees. The Pope will repeat the Coronation prayers."

All, then, had been agreed upon, and hence have arisen those legends gladly adopted by certain historians to make their narratives dramatic.[1]

After the coronation the Pope should have led the Emperor and Empress to the great throne to enthrone them. The formula in the service-book ran thus: "Be seated and take the place which is appointed thee by God, by the authority of Almighty God, and by our present bestowal, in the sight of all the bishops and other servants of God. The more thou seest the clerk near to the holy altars the more oughtest thou to remember to do him honour in the fitting places, so that the Mediator between God and men may cause thee to remain long the mediator between God and the People." The Emperor demanded that for this formula they should substitute that in the French ceremonial in which the independence of the Throne is asserted, though he did not avail himself of this argument. "Consider," he said, "the ancient custom sanctioned by the Roman Pontiffs, who have themselves made use of this formula in the consecration of our kings." The historic precedent would have been difficult to find, but the Pope agreed.

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[1] Since M. Thiers, who appears to have been the first to adopt it, a legend has sprung up according to which Napoleon, without forewarning the Pope, seized the crown and put it himself upon his own head. One of the latest historians who has dealt with this subject writes: "But finally when the moment came for the Pope to take the crown and put it on the head of the Emperor as had been agreed, Napoleon was suddenly seen to seize it quickly, like a purse-snatcher, and place it arrogantly on his brow, after which he also himself crowned the Empress who knelt before him. Thus the Pope was unable to boast of having given him the political investiture of the Empire. The unhappy Pius VII witnessed quite dumbfounded this audacious broach of his pledged words. Even to protest in the church would have been a useless scandal . . ." &c. As has been seen, this account of M. Debidour is entirely imaginary. Indeed, certain impartial and learned writers had before fallen into the same mistake, from which the reading of the prayers pronounced by the Pope at the moment of the Coronation would have been sufficient to preserve them.

When he opposed a determined resistance he gained his point. Thus, in the proposed ceremonial, it directed that "after the enthronement the Pope will kiss the Emperor on the cheek and say, '*Vivat Imperator in æternum*.' Then he will be led back to the altar and will go on with the Mass." On the Pope's insisting, the last part of the sentence was changed to this: "The Pope, when he has come to the altar, will sing the *Te Deum*." Here a dispute arose. "The Emperor wishes that the *Te Deum* should be sung only at the end of the Mass, in order to end this august ceremony worthily. So his Holiness will be asked to continue the Mass, beginning with the *Alleluia*." This seemed nothing. But if the Pope sang the *Te Deum* at the end of the ceremony, it would be after the Constitutional oath, at which he did not wish to be present, since by his presence he would give to the promise to observe the laws of the Concordat and the liberty of worship the kind of adhesion which he refused. So he did not agree that the oath should be taken either after the Gospel, as had been suggested at first, or after the Mass and before the *Te Deum,* as the Emperor wished. Napoleon sought for a solution in vain. He yielded about the oath after the Gospel, but in order to keep it after the Mass he conceived the following: "His Holiness can do what he thinks during the oath-taking. After this ceremony, which is quite apart from him, he will only be asked to intone the *Te Deum* and then to repeat the prayers which accompany it in the service-book." This permission given to the Pope "to do what he thinks fit" during the oath may seem laughable, but Napoleon did not so regard it. What he sought was the means to interpolate the civil ceremony into the religious, and to oblige the Pope to assist at it. Pius VII, after vainly alleging the length of the service and the fast he would have made, refrained from giving any excuses, and declared roundly that he did not wish to be concerned in an affair which he considered purely constitutional and national. This time Napoleon was forced to yield. The *Te Deum* was to be sung after the enthronement, and then the Mass would continue. "The Mass over and his Holiness being carried into the chapel of the Treasury, he will there deposit his priestly adornments." The constitutional oath would then be taken, and immediately afterwards their Majesties, leaving the church, would return to the Archbishop's palace, and the Pope would re-enter the Church and be conducted, under the canopy by the clergy, from the chapel of the Treasury to the Archbishop's palace, the Imperial musicians playing the anthem *Tu es Petrus*, "with full choir and symphony."

The question of the constitutional oath thus settled, there remained another, which was, perhaps, the most delicate of any that could arise. Would Napoleon communicate or not? The service-book and the French ceremonial both stipulated that the Sovereign should communicate twice—a preparatory Communion on the evening before or the morning of the Consecration, and a thanksgiving Communion at the Mass following the Consecration. Even at Reims the King of France communicated twice, which gave an opportunity for an interesting ceremony. The Emperor at first had consented to conform to the service-book. A first "Extract from the Ceremonial" had been printed containing the following, under Articles XLVI and XLVII: "At the moment of Communion the Grand Elector and the Lady of Honour will take off their Majesties' crowns. Their Majesties will rise from the little throne and will go alone to communicate. After the Communion their Majesties will return to the great throne in the same order as will have been observed in making the offerings." The Emperor, however, though he made no remark at first, felt some scruples. "I know," he said to his friends, "that I ought to set an example of respect for religion and its ministers; so you see that I treat the priests well, and assist at Mass in a grave and attentive manner. But they know me well, and if I were to go too far both for myself and others—what do you think of it? Would it not be at the same time both giving a hypocritical example and committing a blasphemy?" In order to leave a loophole for escape, to reserve his decision, and to supply a stepping-stone, he had a new edition of the "Extract from the Ceremonial" published, in which this phrase was inserted at the beginning of Article XLVI: "If their Majesties communicate . . ." It was about this text that a negotiation had arisen with the Pope. In it the question is definitely settled, and in the affirmative. In truth it had been necessary to foresee every step taken by the Emperor and Empress in the church each time that they went from the little to the great throne, or to the altar, for an immense train preceded and followed them and a good deal of time was taken up on each occasion. Thus, after the offering, their Majesties were to return to the great throne, from which they were to come to the altar for Communion. It was proposed to the Pope that this proceeding should be omitted: "Their Majesties will remain at the little throne from the offertory to the Communion. Their Majesties will communicate at Mass and will then return immediately to the great throne." The Pope agreed. The important thing was the Communion. But at the last moment, doubtless on the eve of the solemnity, Napoleon, hitherto undecided, demanded to be excused the Communion. He insisted so strongly that the Pope, unable to refuse, would have summoned the cardinals, it was said, to a congregation. "If the Emperor," he might have said, "performs this act only because it forms part of the programme of a ceremony, it will be a blasphemy such as I can not desire, and at which my conscience would revolt. Napoleon is not, perhaps, disposed for Communion. A time will doubtless come when his conscience will urge him to it. Until then let us not burden his conscience and our own." Whatever it was he might have said, he granted the dispensation. This is apparent on the one hand from the absolute suppression of Articles XLVI and XLVII in the third and last edition but one of the "Extract from the Ceremonial," on the other from an annotation made afterwards by the Pope's own hand on the original document containing in half margin the plans of the ceremonial and the different suggestions of the Emperor: *Non communicarono* ("They did not communicate").

Some astonishment may be felt that Napoleon, after demanding Coronation and Consecration from the Vicar of Jesus Christ, if not because he expected the benefit of grace from them, at least because he hoped to appear to advantage in the eyes of his Catholic subjects, and because he himself made an outward profession of the Catholic religion, should have refused to perform the one action which would have proclaimed him a Catholic, and should have, at the same time, vitiated the other Sacrament which he had so desired to receive. For the royal unction was a Sacrament: *Sacramentum quintum est inunctio regis*, St. Peter Damien had said. The Emperor should have been in a state of grace to receive it, and he refused to put himself in such a state. He refused to take part in the Communion, although he claimed a Consecration such as the Church granted only to bishops. Doubtless he had not duly reflected. What was his conception of the Consecration? It is impossible to say for certain. Probably an amplified assertion of his Imperial dignity, an imposing ceremony to arouse the imagination and to give scope for fine pageantry, also an unusual one. Even if he could reconcile it with his conscience to receive a Sacrament under the form of three unctions—which was doubtful—this Sacrament which he was going to partake of alone with Josephine did not seem to him to be the same as that of Communion, a Sacrament which was partaken of by every faithful Catholic, and which was a matter of custom and practice. He did not fear the scoffs of his ancient companions about the Consecration, for he took too great a pride in it. As regards the Communion, was he not influenced by some scruple of conscience as well as by the ridicule which might be poured upon his bigotry? The Communion was really *the Sacrament*, such as he knew and believed and had always conceived it to be ever since his Confirmation. It could not be said that he was a believer, but he was not absolutely an infidel. He had not cast forth Catholicism from his soul; it remained there at the bottom, under an idealistic fatalism which did not contradict it. What could have hindered him from communicating if he had not considered it a sacred act? In that case only could it be a blasphemy. Otherwise it was as indifferent a ceremony as the others. By this, however, he rendered the Consecration void. What validity in the eyes of Catholics could even the episcopal unction given by the Sovereign Pontiff of the Church have on an unbelieving prince, who refused to show himself a Catholic and was not in the state of grace?

The question of the Communion was of great importance. After every other point had been settled with the Pope, Napoleon raised one which was of the least importance—that of the Imperial orb. This had at first been treated as an unimportant accessory. Like the collar and the ring, it was to have been carried in front of the Emperor by a Grand Officer. Afterwards they did not well know what to do with it. The kings of France had had no orb, at Reims they had never troubled about it. But it had been made known to Napoleon that the Emperors of the holy Roman-Germanic Empire had an orb at their coronation. He must have an orb to be placed on the altar and be blessed and bestowed by the Pope. There were no prayers for the ceremony, but some should be composed. As a matter of fact, having the sceptre in one hand and the hand of Justice in the other, he could not carry the orb, but he would have it on the spot. The Pope consented to this.

Here we have the whole character of Napoleon, with its qualities of order, method, and system which distinguish it, and its petty aspects also of jealousy, susceptibility, and even childishness. In the French ceremonial he had found the blessing of the sword, the gloves, and the ring, but the blessing of the sword preceded the Consecration, while the blessing of the gloves and ring followed after and in consequence of it. In the service-book there was no blessing. No matter, at the cost of prolonging the ceremony, the Pope should bless the imperial insignia; not only those which the Archbishop of Reims was accustomed to bless, but all of them—sword, mantles, rings, orb, and crown. Likewise, for the sake of regularity and order, the Pope was to bestow all the adornments—those which the service-book referred to and those which the Ceremonial directed, and those which were mentioned in neither but which might have been made use of at any time at the coronation of any king or emperor in any country of Christendom. So greatly did Napoleon seem to fear that, if any adornment which an emperor might have worn was wanting to his robes, he would not be taken for a true emperor.

Then there was the foolishness of the ceremonies. Apart from the religious proceedings, the precedences, the prayers, and the parts of the ceremony in which the Pope appeared, it can be seen from the four successive editions of the "Extract from the Ceremonial" how Napoleon refined and added and demanded still more pomp, pageantry, and actors. Manœuvring the courtiers like a battalion of his Guards, he strove to marshal his performers and to draw up their ranks with the proper distances between them. Accordingly the movements of those who bore the insignia of Charlemagne, the Empress, and the Emperor, or of those who preceded, accompanied, or followed the Pope, the Empress, and the Emperor, had to be regulated with a mathematical precision, had to correspond, separate, and meet together again like the figures in a ballet. There was all the more need for this because the goings and returnings, first from the door to the little thrones, then from the little thrones to the great throne for the enthronement, then from the great throne to the altar for the offering, without counting the comings and goings of the Pope, the Grand Almoner, and the grand dignitaries, were complicated by the comparative narrowness of the passage, by the scanty width of the choir, where 200 persons at least were moving at the same time, and by the height of the platform on which was perched the great throne at the top of twenty-four almost perpendicular steps covered with carpet. The actors were wholly unaccustomed to grand ceremonies, twelve only of them at the most—Ségur, Talleyrand, d'Harville, d'Arberg, Berthin, Lauriston, Coulaincourt, Rohan, Mme. d'Arberg, and perhaps Mme. de la Rochefoucauld—had appeared in a Court, or had any knowledge of its customs, pageantry, and etiquette. And all these people, at their very outset, would have to perform, under the fixed and doubtless satiric gaze of revolutionary France and monarchical Europe, the most complicated ceremonial which had ever been required of courtiers who had been born, bred, and educated for the service of kings, and whose whole lives, careers, and occupations had been directed towards that object.

CHAPTER VI

THE DAY OF THE CORONATION

The preparatory ceremonies—The proclamation of the *Plébiscite* —The audience of the Senate—Discourse of Francois (de Neufchâteau)—The Emperor's answer—The democratic right has vanished—Empire by Divine right.

The morning of Frimaire 11th—Deputations at the *Palais de Justice* and the *Place Dauphine*—The great State bodies—The confusion in Notre Dame—The crowd without—Arrival of the Court of Cassation—The order of precedence in the church—Arrival of the Diplomatic Corps and the foreign princes—The Arch-Chancellor of the Germanic Empire—The assistant cardinals—The Pope's train—Monsignor Speroni and his mule—The coach—The route—The reception by the populace—The current rumours—The Archbishop's palace—The entry into Notre Dame—The Abbé de Salamon—The Pope on his throne —The wait—The Emperor's train—The coach—Napoleon and Josephine—Immensity of the procession—The arrival at the Archbishop's palace—The Imperial toilet—The entry into Notre Dame—The procession in the church—The ceremony—By whom was it seen ?—The ascent of the Great Throne—The offerings—The Constitutional oath—All passes off well—The return to the Tuileries—The illuminations—The enthusiasm—The Boulevards—The official illuminations.

ALL, however, went along smoothly. The Emperor included even the official announcement of the *Plébiscite* among the preparatory ceremonies. A single article in the *Moniteur* was written on this almost abandoned and forgotten subject. On the

6th of Frimaire (November 27th) the *Senatus Consultum* of the 16th of Brumaire (November 7th) was inserted; in this was recorded the results of the voting. The French people had accepted the proposition of the Senate by 3,574,898 votes against 2,569. "The Imperial dignity is hereditary in the direct, natural, legitimate, and adopted descent from Napoleon Bonaparte, and in the direct, natural, and legitimate descent from Joseph and Louis Bonaparte, as is regulated by the Act of the Constitution of the Empire of the date of Floréal 28 of the year XII."

On the 10th of Frimaire (December 1st), the eve of the Consecration, the Senate went in a body to the Tuileries. They were ushered into the Throne Room and presented to the Emperor by the Grand Elector. The object of this was to announce the result of the *Plébiscite*, which could have been done in a few words, since the Imperial Government had been in existence for six months. But François (de Neufchatêau), who presided, was determined to pronounce the inauguratory discourse, which was feeble, though certain of his words, now spoken too late, were a useful reminder of the principles of the Constitution. Thus, when he attested that "the right to vote, especially as regards the Fundamental Laws, is the first attribute of the sovereign power of the People"; when he affirmed that the Emperor held his power only from the Sovereign People; when he proclaimed that the Republic existed and that the object of the *Plébiscite* had been "to introduce into the government by a single man principles preservative of the interests of all, and to give to the

Republic the strength of the Republic"; when he claimed "for the Republicans whose patriotism has been the most zealous and imperious the right to consider themselves the stoutest supporters of the Throne"; when he announced, defined, and commented on the constitutional oath, every term of which expressed some essential condition of the agreement between the Emperor and people—he might by all this have once been able to inculcate a useful lesson and a necessary warning, had not his speech been somewhat marred by an excess of rhetoric. But it was too late. The Emperor's answer showed the distance he had travelled in the last six months. It displayed the influences of the Papal Consecration, and how the democratic right which had set him up was now turned into a providential, not far removed from a Divine, right. He said: "I mount the throne to which I have been called by the unanimous wish of the Senate, the People, and the Army, my heart full with the mighty destiny of that People whom, from the midst of camps, I have been the first to salute with the name of Great. All my thoughts, from my youth up, have been turned upon them, and I here declare that my thoughts and labours to-day are concerned only with the happiness or unhappiness of my People. My descendants will long guard this throne. They shall be the foremost soldiers of the Army in the field, and in sacrificing their lives for the defence of their country. As administrators they will never forget that contempt of the law and decay of social order are only the results of the weakness and indecision of princes." In this there was no word of duties towards the nation and the Revolution; not one word of the duties which the democracy had imposed on the chief whom she had been pleased to elect and over whom the people still remained sovereign. Sovereign—the People? It was "my People." And then an allusion to Louis XVI, which could not fail to be remarked, and which connected the new with the fallen dynasty, putting them upon an equal footing. It was no longer a Republic with an *Imperator* or a Cæsar at its head; it was a Monarchy which its inheritors would long possess, provided that they avoided the faults of their predecessors the Bourbons. At present it was "by the grace of God" that Napoleon was Emperor of the French; it was not only a formula which had changed, but the whole point of view.[1]

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From six o'clock in the evening until midnight on the 10th of Frimaire salvos of artillery discharged hourly announced the solemnity of the morrow. At every salvo Bengal lights shone on all the elevated parts of Paris. The theatres were open free, and bands of music paraded the streets, playing fanfares.

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[1] The promulgatory formula of the laws and the executory formula of the judgments, such as the one regulated by Articles 140 and 141 of the XVth heading of the *Senatus Consultum* of the 28th of Floréal of the year XII, ran: "Napoleon by the grace of God and the Constitution of the Republic," &c. This formula was maintained up to the month of September, 1807. The Imperial decree issued at the Imperial camp of Tilsit on July 1, 1807, still bore it. The Laws of September 3, 1807, bear only: "Napoleon by the grace of God and the Constitution, Emperor of the French." At the same date the word "Republic" disappears from the reverse of the coinage. I have published elsewhere ("Napoleon and his Son") the conclusion I drew from this.

During the night the palace courtyard and the terrace along the length of the castle were sanded. Fifty-seven cartloads of river sand were spread over the muddy patches. "It has been necessary to pay the workpeople whatever price they asked on account of the scarcity of labour." This was 3.25 francs a day and 4 francs a night, which was unheard of. It snowed, but did not thaw. At eight o'clock the snow stopped, and the cold returned.

Before daybreak the deputations appointed by the *Senatus Consultum* to be present at the taking of the oath assembled at the Palais de Justice, the halls of which were lighted by 429 powerful earthenware lamps, each six inches in diameter. At seven o'clock these deputations set out on foot under the escort of the Parisian guard to Notre Dame. At the same hour the deputations from the land and sea forces, as well as from the National Guard, were drawn up on the Place Dauphine. These were of two kinds—the official deputations of about five thousand men, under the command of Colonel Curto, "to whom is entrusted their management, discipline, and organisation"; and the voluntary deputations from the guards of honour which had been formed during the journeys of the First Consul and the Emperor through the different departments—233 men, almost all of them Horse Guards, who had come to Paris to show their loyalty and at their own expense. They were marshalled under Colonel Beaumont, *aide-de-camp* to the Governor of Paris, and were drawn up in two sections, one commanded by Colonel Cazin-Caumartin, of Boulogne-sur-Mer, the other by Colonel de Marmol, of Brussels. Part only of these deputations were to enter the church, to whom were added the deputations of the special voluntary corps, such as the veteran guards of honour of the Senate—the survivors of *Royal-Pituite*; the rest would line the route.

At eight o'clock the great State bodies departed from their respective palaces—the Senate, the Council of State, the legislative body, the Tribunate, each body in carriages under the escort of a hundred horsemen. The Court of Cassation were on foot, with an escort of eighty foot-soldiers. Around Notre Dame and inside the church the confusion was terrible. Detachments of six battalions of Grenadiers and Chasseurs of the Guard had since five o'clock taken up their positions at the Archbishop's palace and the cathedral. But the officers took not the slightest heed of the civilians, or rather of the one civilian, Fontaine, the architect, who was on the spot at their arrival; for no Master of the Ceremonies had bestirred himself, none even of the twenty-nine commissioners who were paid a louis each. " At six o'clock the doors were opened, and a large number of those invited, whose impatient curiosity had led them thither before daybreak," had managed to push in through the doorways on handing their tickets to the ninety-two ticket-collectors, who were each paid nine francs. As soon as they entered " they walked about all over the stands and hindered the workpeople," who were still busy; and " for more than an hour and a half the greatest disorder reigned in the church." It was with the greatest difficulty that Fontaine managed to induce the military authorities to take the place of the lie-abed Masters of the Ceremonies and to establish order at the entrances.

But outside there was no Fontaine. The Prefect of Police had closed the Place du Parvis to carriages other than those of the three trains of the Pope, the Emperor, and the Arch-Chancellor Dalberg. The streets leading to the Place du Parvis were blocked by the crowd. Those invited who arrived after daybreak were unable to get to the church. A large number of ladies of the highest rank were obliged, in spite of the lightness of their attire and low-necked dresses, to descend near the Palais de Justice, at the entrance of the rue de la Barillerie, and were thronged by a scarcely respectful crowd in the winding lanes which, even sixty years ago, wound between the old houses of the city. They were frightened, with some reason, when the Court of Cassation appeared in the midst of its escort. An amorous warmth was once more awakened in these venerable magistrates; they opened their ranks to the fair disconsolates, who entered the cathedral under the shelter of their flame-coloured togas.

The order of precedence for the constitutional bodies did not begin from the choir, but from the lower end of the church, from the steps of the great throne on which the Emperor was to pronounce the constitutional oath. The Leaders and the Senators were seated half to the right and half to the left, the Counsellors of State on tiers of benches on both sides of the throne. Then, nearer to the choir, the Legislators, the Tribunes, the members of the Court of Cassation, the Grand Officers of the Legion, the Commissioners of Accounts, the Generals of Division, the Vice-Admirals, the President and Procurators-General of the Imperial Courts, the Presidents of the Electoral Colleges of the Departments, the Sea Prefects, the Prefects, the Presidents and Procurators-General of the Criminal Courts, the Generals of Brigade, the Presidents of the General Councils of the Departments, the Under-Prefects, the Mayors of the Good Towns, the Presidents of the Canton Assemblies, the Presidents of the Protestant Church Assemblies, the Presidents of the Chambers of Commerce, the Inspectors-in-Chief at Reviews, the War Commissioners, the members of the General Council of Commerce, the members of the General Council of the Seine, the Presidents of the classes at the Institute, the President of the Agricultural Society, the members of the colonial deputations. It was a classified, ordered, uniformed, and official France, in which every administrative, judicial, and military body had its rank, place, and uniform, and could be distinguished at a glance without the slightest hesitation; a France such as Napoleon had created, new, like himself, so deeply stamped with his imprint, and so completely the work of his hierarchically organising and orderly genius that she could have proceeded from no other. She was his creation, and had been created in four years.

In the stands, on a level with and to the right of the throne, were the ladies and officers of the Princes, to the left the Diplomatic Corps; then the families of the Great Dignitaries, Ministers, Grand Officers, and Officers of the Household or members of the State bodies; then the officials of the Institute, of the Staff and Prefectures of Paris, and the Public Departments. In the stands erected on the level of the floor were the Officers of the Guard; in the two rows of galleries above the nave and around the choir were the deputations from the forces and the National Guards on benches. This gave an effect of endless tiers of human beings ranged one above another. The space from the pavement to the vaulting was filled with nodding heads and straining eyes.

At nine o'clock came the last departure. The Diplomatic Corps, which had assembled at the house of its eldest member, departed thence under the escort of a hundred cavalry. The lesser Powers were better represented than the great, but there were sufficient, and then among them was a Turk. Then came the foreign princes—mere princelings, many of whom were well paid for their zeal: the Margrave of Baden, the hereditary Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, the Princes of Hesse-Homburg, Solm-Lich, Nassau-Weilburg, Isenburg, Löwenstein, and Löwenstein-Wertheim. What a clean sweep of them there was to be within two years! At present they were well petted. An escort was offered them and the company of his Majesty's brother-in-law, the Prince Borghese. As to the Arch-Chancellor of the Germanic Empire, the Prince-Bishop Elector of Ratisbonne, he was overwhelmed with honours. He had a separate train of three Imperial coaches, and a guard for himself. This was not without import for the future, and should be remarked. The Coronation was not to be without its Dalberg.

A little before nine o'clock the assistant deacons of his Holiness, Cardinals Braschi-Honesti and de Bayane, each in a Court carriage, left the Tuileries to precede the Pope to the Archbishop's palace.

At the stroke of nine the Pope's train left the Carrousel. At its head was a squadron of dragoons; then came the coach containing the Emperor's officers attached to the person of the Pope—Viry, Brigode, and Salmatoris; next the cross-bearer of the Pope, Signor Speroni, on a mule which it had not been thought necessary to purchase, but had been hired for sixty-seven francs. When Speroni appeared, stiff and upright, on his strange mount, holding his crucifix perpendicularly aloft, there ran through the by no means select crowd a laugh, which increased and grew almost into a howl: "Look at the Pope's mule—that's what they kiss!" Speroni passed by unmoved. It was pretended that he was delighted. He was to attain to the honours of the popular toy-maker and the glory of the barometer, raising and lowering his cross as the string in his middle was jerked or slackened. As he possessed the true Roman wit he collected these toys, merely remarking that he understood the French character.

After Speroni came a coach with six horses, containing the Grand Officers of the Papal Court—Duke Braschi, Prince Altieri, Prince Ruspoli, the Marquis Sacchettti—then the Pope's coach. It was drawn by eight dappled-grey horses of marvellous beauty, with plumed crests and twisted manes and tails. These were driven eight-in-hand by a coachman in a grand yellow livery trimmed all over with gold lace. At the heads of the horses were grooms and outriders in the same livery. In the inside, which was upholstered in white velvet embroidered with gold, sat the Pope, clad very simply in white. On the little seat were the Cardinals Antonelli and di Pietro. The Pope was clearly visible through the eight windows in the gilded and painted body of the coach. Above him, on the roof, rose the triple crown, supported by four gilded doves. On the seats before and behind were six pages and four footmen in yellow and gold. At the right-hand door was Colonel Durosnel, the Emperor's equerry. That was all. After this came six carriages for the Major-domo, the Chamberlain, the Vice-Regent of Rome, the Almoner, the Secretary for the Papal Briefs, the Sacristan, the private Chamberlains, the Almoners and Train-bearers of the cardinals, the private Almoners, and the private Attendants; lastly a squadron of dragoons.

The procession advanced between lines of soldiers three deep in full uniform—the Guard had had new outfits for the 18th of Brumaire—passed by the rue Saint-Nicaise into the rue Saint-Honoré, which it followed as far as the rue du Roule, where it turned off along the rue de la Monnaie, the Pont Neuf, the quai des Orfèvres, the narrow rue Saint-Louis, the rue du Marché Neuf, and the rue du Parvis. The broadest streets had been chosen for the route, but it was impossible to avoid this rue Saint-Louis, which, from the quai des Orfèvres to the rue de la Barillerie, was squeezed between the high houses built on the

Petit-Bras and those backing on to the buildings which surrounded the Sainte-Chapelle.

The crowd had not been allowed to gather except at the Place du Tribunat and at that part of the city where stands had been erected. Some heads were uncovered, but not all. There was no sign of veneration. No one bowed himself or knelt. The blessings were wasted on the air. The crowd which had jeered at Speroni had not yet recovered from its laughter. Moreover, many people were hostile. Rumour said that the Catholic religion was going to be declared the religion of the State, that every regiment was to have its almoner, and that the marriages and baptisms celebrated by the Constitutionals would have to be performed over again or legalised—and this in Paris, where at least four religions had been born and died in the last ten years.

The Pope descended from his carriage—the carriage of Josephine, which had been furbished up for the occasion—under the awning which Fontaine had discovered, and which had been carried away on the night of the 6th and 7th by a gale of wind, which had broken the fastenings and the timber-roofed supports. It had been necessary to rebuild it in four days, and they were just giving it the last strokes with the hammer. He was received in the entrance-hall of the palace by Cardinal de Belloy; he ascended the great staircase and found in the great hall the cardinals, the French archbishops and bishops, and the *curés* and incumbents of the parishes of Paris. Four tables were laid out; on a large one were the papal ornaments, on two others the ornaments of the

Latin deacon and under-deacon and of the Greek deacon and under-deacon; on a fourth the candlesticks of the acolytes. The Pope put on his adornments, while the Cardinal of Paris re-entered the church, at the door of which he was to receive him.

The procession began. At the head of it was the Abbé de Salamon, carrying the cross. What a revenge for the priest who had been the mysterious internuncio of Pius VI in revolutionary Paris! He, the confessor of the faith, who had escaped the massacres of September and had seen the Catholic religion condemned to extinction together with its priesthood, to re-enter with the papal cross in his hand into the Episcopal Church of Gobel, into the Temple of Reason and the Supreme Being! It is only in history that such ironies can be found. On each side of him were the private chaplains carrying the two mitres of his Holiness, the incense-bearer with the censer and navicula, and the eight acolytes with the seven candlesticks. After them came the Latin deacon between the Greek deacon and under-deacons. Then the double line of French bishops, archbishops, and cardinals; the former wore only the rochet, the latter the amice, the rochet, and the chasuble. After the assistant cardinal-bishop and the officers of the Imperial House came the Pope, his tiara on his head, between two cardinals who sustained the borders of his mantle. Behind him the officers and the mass of the clergy. He was surrounded by a guard of honour, and the Grenadiers in line presented arms. On entering the church the Pope received the holy-water brush from the hands of the Cardinal of Paris and blessed the priests. With a comprehensive gesture he blessed the standers-by, the senators, the councillors of State, the legislators, the tribunes, the generals, and judges. How many of them could raise their hands and show them clean of the blood of the righteous?

The Pope was incensed and moved towards the altar under the canopy borne by the canons, while the great bell, swung by sixteen men, pealed forth; while the double orchestra in the transepts directed by Lesueur—the orchestra of 460 musicians, among whom were mingled those of the Imperial Chapel, the Opera, Feydeau, Louvois, the Conservatoire, the Grenadiers, and the Chasseurs of the Guard—struck up the *Tu es Petrus*.

The Pope made his prayer before the altar and was then led to his throne on the left side of it. The cardinals took up their positions. The bishops came in two files, on the right and left, to kiss the papal stole. When everybody had taken his place the Pope seated himself on his throne and said Tierces. It was scarcely half-past ten. There was a pause. Pius VII remained on his throne motionless, his eyes shut in prayer, and feeling neither the cold nor the tension of the delay.

However, at ten o'clock the salvos of artillery had announced the departure of the Emperor from the Tuileries. But several halts were made on the route. They had not sufficiently reckoned with the confusion that would be caused by the immense size of the procession, shut in between hedges of foot-soldiers, delayed by the eagerness of the populace, and checked by certain petty accidents.

At the head, after the trumpeters and drummers of the carbineers, marched Marshal Murat, the Governor of Paris, followed by his staff; then four squadrons of carbineers, four of cuirassiers, the regiment of Horse Chasseurs of the Guard, and the squadron of Mamelukes. Next, the heralds-at-arms on horseback, with staves adorned with bees in their hands, their surcoats of violet velvet embroidered on the breast with eagles, on their heads velvet caps with plumes, which nodded in the air. Then the six-horse carriages, all of gold and varnished in rose and green—the carriage of the Masters of the Ceremonies, the four carriages of the Grand Officers of the Empire, the three carriages of the Ministers, the carriage of the Grand Officers of the Crown, the carriage of the Great Dignitaries, and the carriage of the Princesses. An interval. Then the Emperor.

His coach held the destiny of a world. The body of the carriage was all gilt and decorated with a frieze of medallions, representing the Departments of the Empire, and linked with a chain of palm-leaves. On the doors were the grand armorial bearings. Four allegorical figures upheld the roof, which was covered with green velvet embroidered with branches of olive and laurel, and surrounded by a garland of gilded bronze laurels fastened with golden eagles. In the middle rose a crown on a golden altar between four eagles. It was "modelled on that of Charlemagne." The inside was upholstered in white velvet embroidered with gold. On the ceiling was a winged thunderbolt surrounded with a double crown of olives and laurels. On the floor and in front were branches of laurels round a coroneted **N**. On the lower parts of the doors under the windows was a garland of oak enclosing a crown of sixteen stars, with the star of the Legion in the centre stamped with an N Everywhere were laurels and swarms of bees. On the hammer-cloth and the harness bees were powdered, and the grand armorial bearings were cut and gilded on the pole. The eight light bay horses with white plumes, their manes plaited, decked with rosettes and cockades of red and gold, were harnessed with red Morocco leather, and the bronze-work on the pole was carved and gilded. They were driven eight-in-hand by a coachman—César, the coachman of Nivôse 3—stout and prosperous, with gold lace on all the seams of his long green coat. An outrider was mounted on one of the leaders, a groom was at the head of each pair. Behind the coachman's seat and behind the carriage were knots of pages—as many as there was room for. The *aides de camp* made their proud horses caracole. At the doors rode the General-Colonels of the Guard. By the hind-wheels were the equerries, in the rear the Inspector-General of the Constabulary.

Inside on the right sat the Emperor in a short Spanish dress of purple velvet embroidered with gold and glittering with precious stones; on the left the all-gracious Empress, smiling and rejuvenated, her face so well made up that she looked like five-and-twenty. Her robe and white satin mantle were embroidered with gold and silver mixed; there were diamonds in her diadem, on her neck, in her ears, and upon her belt. On the seat in front were the princes Joseph and Louis—they were not called Princes of the Blood—also in

Spanish dresses, but white. These seemed incongruous among the uniforms, appeared effeminate, and looked like a travesty. It was an invention worthy of a painting master in a young ladies' academy. Such figures called to mind the absurdities decreed concerning the Directors at the time of the Constitution of the year III. There was no traditional justification for the rich embroideries, the silk stockings, the white shoes with golden rosettes, which recalled the old Court. There was nothing real and contemporary to ennoble the scene except the uniform of the Grenadiers.

After the Imperial coach, which was in the middle of the procession, the string of six-horse carriages recommenced, each with a coachman driving it six-in-hand, a postillion mounted on one of the leaders, and three footmen clinging on behind. There was a carriage for the ladies and officers of the Empress, two for the Emperor's officers, four for the officers and ladies of the Princes and Princesses, and one for the officers of the Grand Dignitaries. Then the Horse Grenadiers, the Horse Artillery, and the pick of the constabulary.

There were twenty-five carriages, drawn by 152 horses, six regiments of cavalry, and a huge staff; all these had to march and wheel in good order along the most narrow streets. There were ample reasons for delay. As to enthusiasm along the route, there does not appear to have been much. "Acclamations were not wanting," said one participator, and as regards the onlookers: "There was a small crowd, which kept exceedingly calm." They had waited two, three, or four hours in the biting wind. The Parisian dragged up at an unusual hour is not prone to cheering on an empty stomach. Besides, the number of soldiers was too great—80,000 men, it was said, who formed a threefold hedge, shutting out the view. Barrels, benches, and tottering tables could be mounted for fifteen sous, but it is difficult to cheer when in imminent danger of falling over. And then, was that really Bonaparte the Emperor? Was it indeed the soldier, the General and the Consul, tricked out in velvet, plumes, gold, and diamonds like an operatic hero?

It was eleven o'clock when the Emperor got out from his carriage under the awning which had been erected opposite the Pont de la Cité, close to the Archbishop's palace. Cardinal de Belloy received him at the foot of the staircase. Thence he was led to the apartments where he put on his State robes. Napoleon required some time to undress himself, to put on the silk stockings embroidered with gold and the buskins of white satin, to endue himself with the white silk tunic over breeches of the same material, to fasten the belt which was to carry his sword, to put on the crown of laurels, and to adjust the immense mantle of purple velvet covered with embroidery and lined with ermine. Josephine, too, wanted time—she who was so careful and expert in adorning herself, and so long in making every fold of the garment she was wearing tell its utmost. This time she found it extremely necessary to render her whole person radiant and to sustain, with a determined effort, the velvet mantle, twenty ells in length, laden with 1,600 francs worth of embroidery and 10,300 francs worth of ermine fur. This mantle was not attached to the shoulders, but in order to leave the breast uncovered and the figure free, was fastened only on the left shoulder and kept in place by a clasp at her belt.

At last the Emperor, with gold-embroidered gloves on his hands, grasped the sceptre and hand of Justice and descended from his apartments. The procession formed up in the covered gallery which ran the whole length of the Church, decorated with Gobelins tapestry. It was a quarter to twelve. First went the ushers, each in black and green with a gold mace in his hand. Then the heralds-at-arms in violet and gold, the pages in green and gold, the masters of the ceremonies and their assistants, followed by the Grand Master in violet and silver. Then the regalia of the Empress, carried by the marshals in French blue and gold between two Officers of the Household in light blue, scarlet, or green. Sérurier bore the cushion for the ring, Moncey the basket for the mantle; Murat had the crown. Then the Empress, between her first chamberlain and her first equerry. Her mantle was carried—no, held up—by the princesses her sisters-in-law, Princess Joseph, Princess Louis; her daughter, Princess Elise; Princess Caroline, and Princess Pauline. What an outcry and rage there had been at St. Cloud about this mantle! The Emperor had been obliged to lose his temper more than once, and to enforce the mantle or exile. Accordingly the Princesses sustained the mantle, but as little as possible; in return for their submission each had an officer of her household to act as train-bearer. Next came the Empress's

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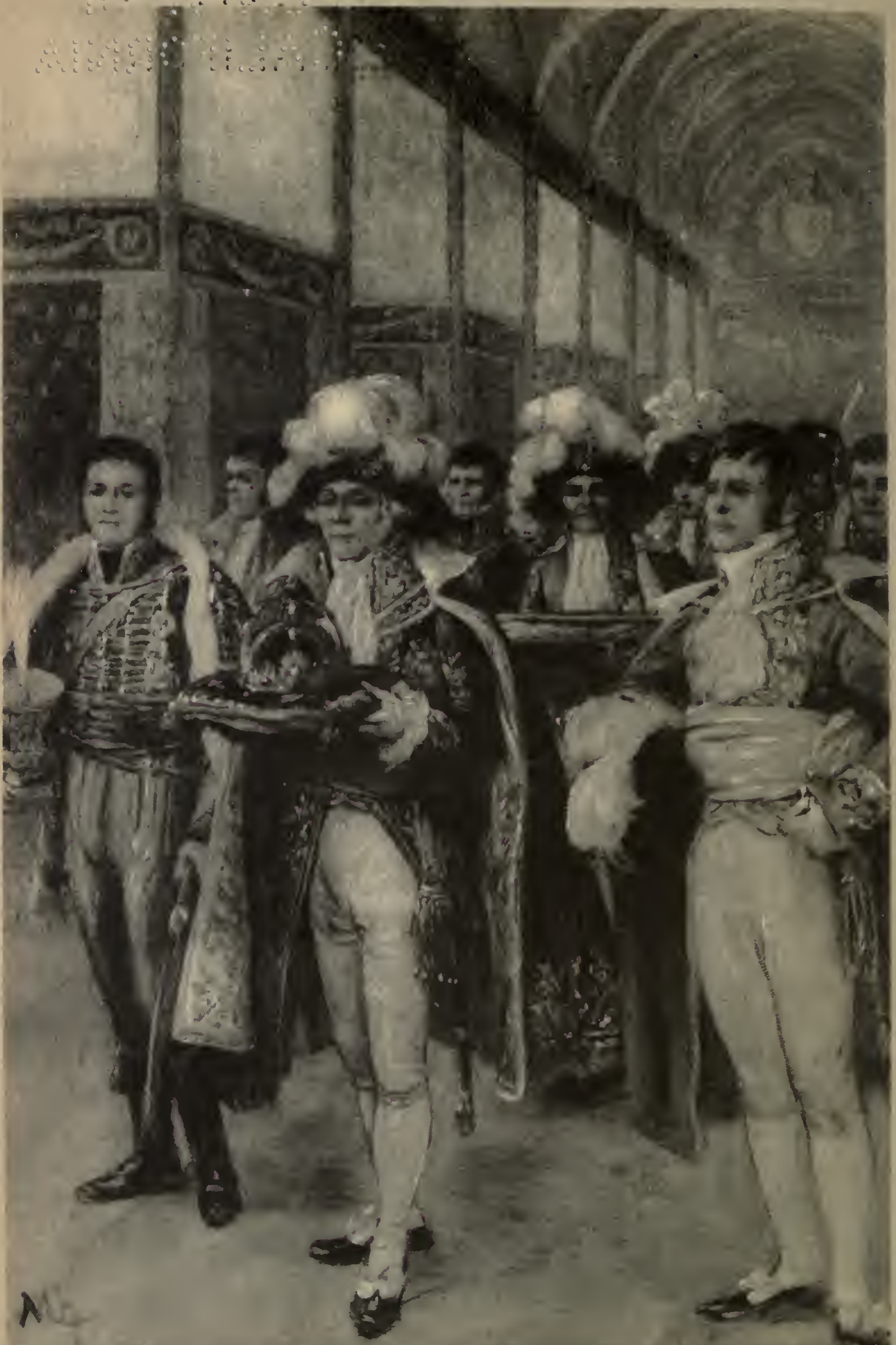


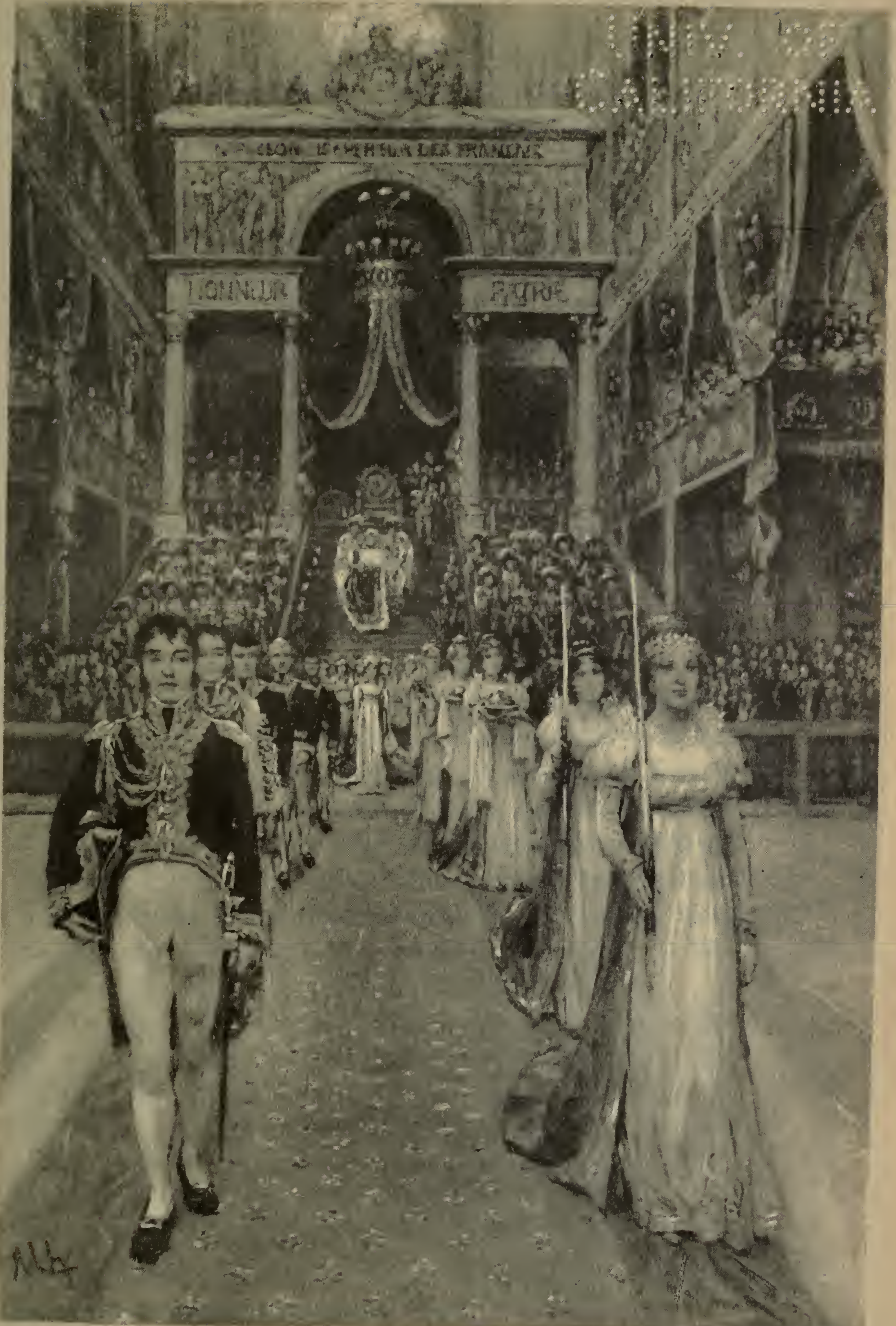
ladies, a sprightly bevy led by the little hump-back La Rochefoucauld. The entrance into the church of this band of radiantly beautiful and choicely dainty ladies seemed to bring in an atmosphere of entrancing pleasure and desire.

Then followed the regalia of Charlemagne between officers in scarlet, light blue, green, and deep blue: Kellermann had the crown, Pérignon the sceptre, Lefebvre the sword—honorary marshals these, covered with faded glory. Next the Emperor's regalia. Bernadotte, as Imperial Marshal, carried the collar; Eugène Beauharnais, as Colonel-General of the Chasseurs, the ring; Berthier, as Master of the Hounds, the orb; Talleyrand, as Grand Chamberlain, the basket for the mantle (the last named had two fit personages to accompany him, Rémusat and Lauriston).

The Emperor advanced, holding the sceptre and the hand of Justice, his mantle borne by the two princes and the two Grand Dignitaries in their Spanish dresses, which contrasted badly with his antique robe and crown of a Roman Cæsar. Behind were the Grand Officers of the Crown, the Colonel-Generals of the Guard, the ministers, the marshals, and the Grand Officers of the Empire. The cannon boomed forth on the quay below, and the great bell resounded with the new clapper given by the Emperor. The holy water was offered by Cardinal de Belloy and Cardinal Cambacérès. The Archbishop began a discourse that threatened to be long, so that Duroc signed to him to abridge it. At the same moment the Emperor appeared advancing and the two orchestras struck up a warlike march. A beginning was at last made. The ceremony proceeded according to the etiquette which had been adopted after long discussion. The onlookers were cold and hungry, although some tradesmen had slipped into the church with rolls and sausages. No one saw anything of the ceremony which went on in the choir except those in the choir-stands, on the ground level, or the first tier. Luckily there was the music, the Mass and the *Te Deum* on a twofold arrangement composed expressly by Paësiello, in which Lesueur had introduced some little pieces according to his fashion. These were the *Unxerunt Salomonem*, the *Accingere gladio,* the *Judicabit,* the *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, and the Abbé Rose's already famous *Vivat*. What a quantity of music! 17,738 pages of music had been copied and brought out for the different parts of the orchestra.

As Napoleon had wished, the first part of the ceremony was only seen in detail by "the priests and such men whose superior intellects have bestowed upon them a faith equal to that of the eighth century." Thus the oath, the unctions, the blessing, and the bestowal of the ornament took place unseen. A short glimpse was caught of the Emperor when, mounting to the altar and turning to the onlookers, he crowned himself. He then disappeared, and, descending the steps, went to crown the Empress. The procession to the great throne for the enthronement gave rise to a certain incident. The Empress mounted the first five steps, and then the weight of her mantle, no longer upheld by the Princesses, who remained at the bottom of the steps, brought her up with a jerk, and almost made her fall backwards. She had to put forth all her strength to recover herself and continue the ascent. Had her train-bearers plotted this vengeance? It was believed so. But a proof of their innocence is the fact that the same thing happened to the Emperor. He staggered himself, was seen to make a slight movement backwards, recovered himself with an effort, and briskly mounted the steps. When, after the enthronement, the Pope kissed the Emperor on the cheek, and pronounced the *Vivat Imperator in æternum*, few of the onlookers understood, and scarcely any one shouted. Besides, the two orchestras struck up the *Vivat*, of which wonders were spoken. There was also the distraction of the goings and comings of the Grand Almoner, who carried and recarried the Book of the Gospels and the Pax from the great throne to the altar. Above all there were the offerings, and the pretty sight of the most beautiful of the ladies of the palace walking behind the Grand Master, and carrying with gestures of studied decency and piety the two wax candles encrusted with thirteen golden napoleons, the wedges of silver and of gold, and the vessel of plate. This carried back the memory to Reims in the old times, and the four lords of the offerings bearing the silver-gilt vessel, the wedges of gold and silver, and the purse of red velvet embroidered with gold, in which were thirteen golden pieces each of the weight of five pistoles.

At last the Mass was ended. The Pope, his assistants, the cardinals, and the priests of his train retired into the vestry of the treasury. The Grand Almoner went to search for the Book of the Gospels at the altar, carried it to the great throne, and, standing upright to the left of the Emperor, held it open. The Presidents of the Senate, the Legislative Body, the Tribunate, and the Council of State, were presented by the Grand Elector, and unrolled the text of the oath before the Emperor. With one hand on the Gospels, Napoleon repeated it in a voice which rang through the farthest corners of the church: "I swear to maintain the territory of the Republic in its integrity; to respect and enforce the laws of the Concordat and the Freedom of Worship; to respect and enforce Equality before the Law, political and civil Liberty and the irreversibility of the sales of national property; to lay on no duty, to impose no tax except according to law; to maintain the institution of the Legion of Honour; and to govern only in accordance with the interests, the happiness, and the glory of the French people." Then, whilst a herald-at-arms read out the obsolete formulas of the Capetians, and proclaimed: "The most glorious and august Emperor Napoleon to be consecrated and enthroned Emperor of the French"; the men of the Revolution, who were witnesses and sureties of this oath which affirmed and strengthened their work by definitely recognising the conquests obtained by a struggle of thirteen years, acclaimed him in whom they at last recognised their elected chief and the crowned representative of the triumphant Revolution. Meanwhile the clergy of the cathedral had gathered at the foot of the throne in order to lead back the Emperor. The procession reformed for the last time by a complicated manœuvre, and proceeded towards the Archbishop's palace.


NAPOLEON EMPEREUR DES FRANÇAIS
HONNEUR
PATRIE

All had passed off well, with a grave and dignified austerity. There had not been a hitch or a blunder on the part of the actors. Despréaux, the husband of la Guimard, and stage-manager for the ceremonies, had well earned the fee of 2,400 francs which was to be paid him. Murat and Bernadotte, the Jacobins of yesterday, had calmly carried the cushions laden or unladen with the formerly detested insignia of tyranny. The ladies had performed their parts as though in a ballet, with as much grace and more dignity. The Empress had appeared adorable, and even young. The faces of the princesses had been wreathed in smiles, some even had been unable to help looking pretty. The Emperor had shown himself both imposing and majestic. The crown of the Cæsars had become his Roman brow, lit up with genius and pride. It was said that he had yawned, but he was human and might have had a few qualms of the stomach. On the return to the Archbishop's palace, wishing to speak to Fesch, who was walking in front of him, he prodded him in the back with the end of his sceptre to attract his attention; but only one—a trusty friend—saw this. Some might have found the ceremony long and tedious, but no one found it ridiculous. The philosophers' threats had not been fulfilled.

It was three o'clock. The day was declining under a grey and snowy sky, and the return route to be followed by the Emperor was a good deal longer. By the rue du Parvis and the rue du Marché-neuf they were to reach the rue de la Barillerie which ran in front of the Palais de Justice, and which by its continuation the rue St. Barthélemy ends in the Pont-au-Change. Thence they would gain the rue St. Denis by the place du Châtelet, and enter the busiest and most populous quarters. They would turn to the left at the boulevard and, following it from end to end up to the rue Impériale and the place de la Concorde, they would re-enter the Tuileries by the Pont-Tournant and the garden. The streets, particularly the rue St. Denis, were decorated and made beautiful. No flags were displayed in those days, but tapestry was hung out as is still done on the passing of a procession in certain countries. This made a surprising but pleasant diversity. The rich had hired hangings, and displayed tapestry at every window. The less wealthy had brought out Indian cloths (which every one has in some odd corner), straw mats, and Genoese stuffs. The poor had emptied their linen-cupboards, and hung out their bed-sheets stuck with twigs of pine. The whole street had a holiday appearance. Lamps were lit on the different floors; in the attics flickered the light of candles—sixes, cut into four. The cavalry escort, the pages, and the footmen carried the five hundred torches which had just been distributed. It was five o'clock, and Paris had dined. As this tongue of fire crept into the heart of the town, it was received with a continual thunder of cheering. The smiling Emperor and Empress saluted with an air of recognition and affection.

One eye-witness—a partisan both of the Bourbons and the anarchists—for there were many who embraced the prejudices of black and red alike—wished to explain away the stamping and hubbub which went on around him at the sight of the sacred carriage, refusing to see in this tokens of joy and signs of love, but only the movement and expression of an intense curiosity which had at last attained its object, and which, far from being disappointed, had more than realised its expectation. This witness is valuable, for he criticises: too few torches, it might have been taken for a funeral or an execution by night; the cold distorted the faces; above all, there was no music. But he admits "the cries which pierce the ear, and the tumultuous movement." Even when, following the procession, he reached the boulevard, he was overcome with the beauty of the scene. Everything there was lit up by two rows of lamp-stands, stars and orange-trees placed at intervals of ten paces and joined from one side of the road to the other by wreaths of coloured lights. The triumphal way was as though roofed with diamonds, topazes, and rubies. At the porte St. Denis there was an enormous star which shone a coroneted **N**. At the place de la Concorde stood an illuminated obelisk supporting a five-rayed star twenty-five feet in diameter. The Garde-Meuble was lit up with lights between the columns. There was a long perspective of the illuminations on the banks of the Seine from the Invalides to the Prefecture of Police. The architecture of the Tuileries was outlined with illuminations. In the gardens were columns, triumphal arches, gabled lamp-stands, tubs for orange-trees, lamps, coloured glasses, and earthenware light-stands; 13,118 francs were paid for masonry, 3,283 francs for terracing, 1,188 francs for general works, 25,840 francs for carpentry, 6,000 francs for ironwork, 17,729 francs for glazing, 49,000 francs for lighting, 1,176 francs for painting, 9,000 francs for paving, gardening, and supervision. And all these official illuminations for the glorification of Napoleon were not worth the stump of one of the sixes which a small tradesman lighted and put in the window of his attic in the rue St. Denis, and which flickered and went out in the evening wind.

CHAPTER VII

THE MORROW OF THE CORONATION

The Emperor's satisfaction—His relish for ceremonies—The popular festival—The Heralds-at-Arms and the Coronation medals—The distribution of the eagles—The Champ de Mars a lake of mud—Napoleon well advised in suppressing the elevation on the Champ de Mai—The Imperial banquet—Pius VII and the ballet—The festival of the Senate—The festival of the Mayors—The festival of the City of Paris—Complications about the entertainments—The Imperial banquet—The presents given by the City—Songs—Hall of Victories—Fireworks—The Consecration balloon—Trasibule—The festival of the Generals—The festival of the Marshals — The festival of the Legislative Body—The audiences—The hunting parties—The sitting of the Senate—The christening of Louis's son.

Napoleon re-entered the Tuileries. He dined alone with Josephine, bidding her, with the playfulness of a happy lover, to keep on her crown, "which suited her so well." He was delighted with his day, and complimented the ladies of the Court. "Ah, ladies, it is to me that you should show yourselves charming!" He displayed no penetrating emotion, no awe at having evoked the mystery of kingship, no distrust with regard to the future, only a somewhat shallow satisfaction that the pomp should have been so magnificent, and that every one should have played his part so well. He was not wearied or tired of ceremonies; on the contrary, he wished for more and more. On the morrow was to be the popular festival, at which he would not appear. There were to be salvos fired at six in the morning, a parade of brakes full of musicians after eleven o'clock, a grand concert at midday in front of the Tuileries with an ascent of gilded fire-balloons, dancing on the place de la Concorde and the boulevards, side-shows, greasy poles, roundabouts, illuminations, and fireworks—nothing appropriate except the parade of the Heralds-at-Arms through the town, and the scattering of handfuls of Coronation medals. On one side of the medal was the laurel-wreathed head of Napoleon, on the other the Emperor raised upon the shield by the Populace and Army. "The Emperor," it had been said, "will be crowned at the Invalides, raised on the shield at the Champ de Mars, and consecrated at Notre Dame." This was the last trace of the elevation. These medals were 14 millimeters in diameter, and there were scattered 75,000 in silver, each worth 40 centimes, amongst which were some of gold worth 8 francs; 12,000 of these little gold coins were distributed to the Imperial Guard. The Emperor had at first thought of giving to every soldier in the Army a large-sized bronze medal, and for this purpose he would have wanted 400,000; but he altered his intention. The total expense, estimated at 100,000 francs, had already reached 229,642 francs 40 centimes.

The effect produced in Paris by this promenade of the Heralds-at-Arms was slight. At Reims the Heralds had scattered the pieces of gold and silver only in the nave and choir of the church. There were some untoward accidents. A well-dressed woman received a score of medals upon her neckerchief; she was instantly hustled, her hat knocked off, and her clothes nearly torn from her back. Was this an example of treating the people as sovereign?

The Emperor had at first wished to return from Notre Dame to the Champ de Mars. He had then decided to put off until the morrow of the Consecration the distribution of eagles to the Deputations of the Army and the National Guard. On that day the weather, though cold, was endurable, but the Empress was so tired and ailing that it was necessary to put it off until the 14th (5th). Besides, the preparations were not finished. It was necessary to erect tents and amphitheatres in front of the Military College. The tents were for the Emperor and his Court, the Senate, the Council of State, the Court of Cassation, the officers and ladies of the palace and the Diplomatic Corps; the uncovered benches for the deputations of every kind. This may have been picturesque, but in December it was a little imprudent. On the evening of the 13th of Frimaire, about ten o'clock, rain mingled with snow began to fall. This lasted all the night and all the morning without a break. At ten o'clock, however, the report of a cannon boomed forth and announced that the Emperor was leaving the Tuileries. There was a pause. It was hoped that the weather would lift, but it did not. Every one except the Emperor was at his post; it was necessary to start. There was more cannon-firing, and this time the procession started in the drenching rain. In the front went mounted chasseurs and mamelukes, grenadiers and picked constabulary brought up the rear. The carriages kept the same order as on the day of the Coronation. The Emperor was clad in his short dress; the Empress, the Princesses, and the ladies were in Court dress with low necks. All the Dignitaries, Grand Officers, and Officers were plumed and glitteringly resplendent. When it did not rain it snowed; often both fell together. They crossed the garden, the place de la Concorde, the bridge, the rue de Bourgogne, and the rue de Grenelle. A triumphal battery saluted before the Invalides. Then they reached the *École Militaire* by the new boulevards, which were not yet named; there a salvo was fired by all the artillery. Napoleon Bonaparte re-entered as a Sovereign the house which he had left nineteen years earlier—on the 28th of October, 1788—as sub-lieutenant of artillery, in order to go to Valence and take up his duties in the regiment de la Fère!

He was to receive the respects of the Diplomatic Corps in the central pavilion, in which were situated the King's drawing-room and the apartments of the Governor. It had been a little dilapidated, but in two months they had made the necessary repairs and the *Garde-Meuble* had provided carpets and seats. The Emperor and Empress again put on the Imperial ornaments, and appeared in their tent. Alas! "the painted cloths, covered with melted snow, have let in the water everywhere." Infinite pains had been necessary to preserve the thrones from the rain. The other seats were soaked, and the rain fell with redoubled violence.

At the moment when the Emperor took his place a young man burst out of the crowd and darted forward, shouting, "Liberty or death!" Several cuirassiers fell upon him and carried him off. He was a house student at the St. Louis Hospital, named Faure. "A young man of a heated imagination," said Fouché the same evening. "It will be necessary to inflict a short imprisonment upon him, and then send him back to his family." This was done. It was thought best to hush the matter up. No inquiry was made to see whether, as Faure pretended later, he was not alone in his intention—whether he had not officers, soldiers, and "men of distinction" for his accomplices.

This incident passed off unnoticed. The cannon sounded and the ceremony began. All the troops were ranged in a line facing the throne—the deputations from the Army on the right and left in close columns, those from the National Guards between them in the centre of the line. At the foot of the throne stood the colonels of all the regiments, and the presidents of the electoral colleges of the 108 Departments, holding the eagles. At the head of the first line were the drummers and bandsmen.

At the signal given by the Marshal-Governor of Paris the columns moved towards the throne. The Emperor arose: "Soldiers, here are your colours. These eagles will serve you always as a standard round which to rally. They will fly whithersoever your Emperor shall hold their presence necessary for the defence of his throne and of his People. You swear to sacrifice your lives in ever defending and upholding them with your courage on the road to victory." The Colonels repeated the oath, brandishing the staves and unfurling the colours. The soldiers presented arms and "raised their caps on the end of their bayonets." This piece of enthusiasm, regulated by the ceremonial, lasted until the colours had been given over to their corps. Then there was a march-past. But "the onlookers, numbed with cold and wetted with the water which came through the tents, had left their positions and gone in disorder to seek for some places where they might hope to find shelter." The Empress and the Princesses had retired; only Princess Caroline remained, "accustoming herself," she said, "to endure the privations inseparable from a throne." The army, covered with mud and soaked with the icy rain, marched past in the middle of a sea of mire before empty benches. Fontaine was in despair.

The Emperor had been well advised when he rejected a Coronation on the Champ de Mars, which was proposed to him in memory of the Federation. "Can you imagine," said he, "the appearance that the Emperor and his family would present exposed in their Imperial garments to the effect of weather, mud, dust, or showers? What an opportunity for the pleasantry of the Parisians, who love to turn everything into ridicule, and who are accustomed to see Chéron at the Opera and Talma at the *Théâtre Français* play the Emperor a good deal better than I can do it!" This time his common-sense had saved him, but he was no better pleased with his day on account of that. After passing five hours in the rain, he re-entered the Tuileries. There was still a grand dinner to come, an immense dinner—a dinner, understand, not a supper, M. de Talleyrand!

At six o'clock they met in the Throne Room.

The Grand Marshal announced that their Majesties were served. The Emperor and Empress, with the Pope, passed into the Diana Gallery. The guests followed. There were five tables.[1] On a daïs in the middle of the gallery, under a canopy, was the Imperial table. The Empress seated herself in the middle, the Emperor on her right, the Pope on her left, the Elector of Ratisbonne at right angles to them. The Grand Officers stood behind the Emperor to his right and left; the pages served. On the two sides of the Imperial table were the table of the Princes and Princesses, the table of the members of the Diplomatic Corps, the table of the Ministers and Grand Officers of the Empire, and the table of the officers and ladies of the Court. During the meal there was music; afterwards, in the great hall, which was to be the Hall of the Marshals, a concert. Then a ballet, which was a strange spectacle to offer to a Pope. Pius VII retired at the moment when the ballet began. The Emperor escorted him as far as the Diana Gallery. Then he returned to his seat to watch Mmes. Gardel, Vestris, and Duport perform a short pastoral ballet, with seven female and two male dancers, accompanied by the flute, tambourine, and triangle. He was so pleased with this that he bestowed a gratuity of three thousand francs upon each of the dancers.

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[1] At the royal feast at Reims there were also five tables: the king's in front of the fireplace, raised on a daïs of four steps and under a canopy of violet velvet sown with golden *fleurs de lys*; the tables of the ecclesiastical and lay peers to the right and left; and farther down, the tables of the ambassadors and Honours (the Grand Chamberlain, the first Gentleman of the Chamber, and the four Knights of the Holy Ghost who had carried the offerings). There was no place for women.

Festivals went on like this every day. On the 22nd (December 13th) there was a feast given to the populace by the Senate in the Luxembourg gardens, with military music, dancing, illuminations, and fireworks; on the 24th a dinner given by the Mayors of Paris to the Mayors of the thirty-six Good Towns in the hall of the Olympic Society; on the 25th (16th) a feast given to the Emperor at the Hôtel de Ville by the City of Paris—a huge feast at which we must pause, because its object was to revive the customs of the old Monarchy while overlaying them with a modern magnificence, and to perpetuate the memories of the past while making them vague and shadowy. Since the beginning of Vendémiaire the Prefect Frochot had been preparing for this feast. He had then announced to the General Municipal Council of the City of Paris "the inclination of his Imperial Majesty to accept at the time of his Coronation the invitation which had been made to him in the name of the City to visit the Communal House." He strove to surpass all the feasts which had been given to the Bourbon kings, to outdo in magnificence, taste, and elegance, above all in variety, everything which the Grand Chamberlain of the Emperor could imagine or the Grand Master of the Ceremonies ordain.

There were amusements suited to the populace—a lottery of thirteen thousand poultry, fountains of wine, bands, songs by "the official singers," illuminations, and so forth; but these were nothing in comparison with the pleasures reserved for the guests at the Hôtel de Ville. As a matter of fact, whose guests were they? Formerly they were invited by the Provost of the merchants and the Corporation; now it would be by the Prefect and the General Council. But the Mayors and their deputies, asserting that they formed the Municipality, protested that the feast should be given in their name. The Emperor employed a compromise to satisfy every one—that the Marshal-Governor of Paris should do the honours. This was extraordinary, and against every precedent; but the Governor was Murat!

However, the idea was due to Frochot the Prefect, and it was not a bad one. All the guests who did not belong to the Court met between eleven and twelve at the Hôtel de Ville, in the Throne Room. At 1.15 they passed into the three galleries, where five tables were set out with a complete repast. Six hundred ladies sat down. The men ate standing at sideboards prepared in the other apartments. About 2.30, near dessert-time, the Marshal-Governor of Paris arrived, and was received at the foot of the grand staircase by the Municipality. At three o'clock a salvo of artillery announced that their Majesties were leaving the Tuileries. It was the same train as on the Consecration Day, the same route as far as the Pont Neuf. There Murat awaited him at the head of all the authorities—not only the two Prefects with their Secretaries-General, the Councillors of the Prefecture, the Mayors and their deputies and the members of the Municipal Council, but every one who held any post in the administration, the finances, the hospitals, the loan-office, the taxes, the Chamber of Commerce, the Town Customs, and Public Education—every one who was employed and who drew an official salary, or even gave his services gratuitously.

The Emperor inclined his head, and the representatives of the city proceeded to the *Communal House,* round which the Imperial Guard had taken up their posts. At the steps there was a reception, then a speech by the Prefect in the Throne Room and a reply by the Emperor: "I desire you to know that in the midst of battles and the greatest dangers, upon the ocean, and even amid the desert, I have always had in view the approbation of this great capital of Europe, which I value second only to the approval of posterity that is all-powerful in my breast." Murat presented to the Emperor some specimens in gold of the medals which the City had had struck in commemoration of this solemn day. Frochot had not failed to employ his fellow-countryman and client, Prudhon, in this work; Prudhon had often been better inspired. Their Majesties were then led into the apartments where the presentations took place. There were more speeches, thanks, and appointments—the oldest of the Parisian Mayors to be a Senator, three officials of the City to be members of the Legion. The Prefect presented to the Emperor and Empress the ships which formed part of the grand service in silver-gilt, which the City had obtained permission to offer to them. As to the toilet-set in gold and silver-gilt, the gift of the City to the Empress, it was laid out in a neighbouring closet.

The Prefect announced that their Majesties were served, and they passed into a hall which had been named the Hall of Victories, the walls of which were covered, between the trophies and allegorical figures, with Latin inscriptions composed by Petit-Radel, an employee of the City. These were the Napoleonic annals. All the battles at which Bonaparte had been present were mentioned. As to the 18th of Brumaire, it figured under this euphemism : *Fata Galliarum vertit* (" He changes the destiny of the Gauls ").

There were three tables—one for their Majesties, another for the Princes and Princesses, a third for the Grand Officers of the Empire. The officers of the Emperor and Empress and the Princes ate in two other apartments. Although the Imperial table was placed on a daïs, under a canopy, surrounded by the Grand Officers of the Crown and served by pages, it only half represented the great service of the King, even with the ships placed at both ends. The etiquette of it was at once more strict since Napoleon and Josephine sat alone, less patriarchal because the Municipality did not serve, more sociable because eating went on at the same time at the other tables. However, what did recall the grand service was the march-past of the guests. During the repast there were songs and music, words by M. de Propiac, keeper of the records of the Department of the Seine. Afterwards they re-entered the reception-hall, where coffee was served. The Emperor advanced to a kind of balcony which had been erected above. Some verses were sung, also by Propiac. Then he set fire to the dragon, which, crossing the place de Grève on a wire rope, lighted the fireworks on the other side of the river. A representation of the "Crossing of the Mount St. Bernard" had been chosen, and in the set-piece there appeared at the top an equestrian figure of the Consul; whilst a ship representing the City of Paris was set alight on the river and a balloon sent up from the square of Notre Dame, bearing a fiery Imperial crown—a balloon which Garnerin had provided for nine thousand francs, and which fell, forty-six hours later, into Lake Bracciano, near Rome. The Emperor wrote to the Pope from Milan on the 4th of Prairial (May 24th):

"I think that the balloon which was sent off from Paris on the day of the Consecration, and which arrived so fortunately at Rome, should be carefully kept in memory of this extraordinary event. I desire that your Holiness should have it put in some special spot where strangers can behold it, and that an inscription should state in how many hours it reached Rome."

After the fireworks their Majesties held a reception. Then they passed into the gallery of the Holy Ghost, where there was a concert. The principal piece was a scenic cantata "Trasibule," the words by M. Beaunier, head-clerk to the Minister of the Interior, the music by Berton. Trasibule was the Emperor. Then a ball, opened by the Princes and Princesses dancing with the ladies and young people of the city. Then gaming. Actually there was no real gaming, but some purses of counters were thrown on the tables prepared for their Majesties to commemorate the festival. Then there was supper and departure in procession at nine o'clock. It had cost the city 1,745,646 francs, but to entertain a sovereign is a costly matter!

And then there was the festival given by the Generals in the hall of the *Cirque Olympique*, for which every General of Division had to contribute 3,000 francs and every General of Brigade 1,500 francs, and of which the repast provided by Véry cost 60,000 francs. There was the feast given by the Marshals of the Empire in the hall of the Opera, decorated with silver gauze and garlands of flowers, a delightful entertainment costing a trifle of 180,000 francs. There was the feast given to the Empress by the Legislative Body, with the unveiling of the statue of Napoleon. Then every day there was an audience from the throne, with the appearance of the Court in full dress—an audience to the archbishops and bishops; an audience to the presidents of the Electoral Colleges and the Colleges of the Districts, and to the prefects; an audience to the presidents of the Councils of Departments; to the under-prefects, the mayors of the Good Towns, the presidents of the cantons; an audience to the deputations from the Army; an audience to the Council of Italy; an audience to the Imperial Institute. The Emperor never tired of ceremonies. The days on which he did not hold grand audiences or be entertained at festivals were spent in hunting with the foreign princes. This reached a climax in the solemn session of the Senate when the Emperor accepted the Crown of Italy and showered principalities around him, and in the memorable festival at St. Cloud when the second son of Louis and Hortense was christened amid all the niceties of the monarchical etiquette. By then it was the 3rd of Germinal (March 24th, 1805).

CHAPTER VIII

THE PRICE OF THE CORONATION

The Pope's stay of four months at Paris—What he did—Sightseeing—Did the Emperor wish him to stay?—Inconveniences of this long sojourn—Presents prepared for the Pope—How and by whom these presents were chosen?—Denon's letter—Pensions for the relations of the Pope—Presents to the Pope's followers—Is it true that the presents given to the Pope were trifling and almost mean?—The Pope unwilling to depart without the fulfilment of the promises made to him before the Consecration—The submission of the constitutional bishops—Lecoz's resistance—How it was overcome—Gratitude felt towards Napoleon for this first fulfilment—Successive demands presented by the Pope in three notes—Demand for the Legations—The Emperor's answer—It is not in the negative—Demands in favour of the Church in France—Replies given through Portalis, the Minister for Public Worship—Napoleon promises to give the Pope satisfaction on almost every point—How he fulfilled his promises—Enumeration of the Decrees issued from 1804 to 1807—Consalvi's falsehoods—The Pope shows on several occasions his entire satisfaction—Consalvi pretends that he has been overwhelmed with humiliations—The cardinals fan the discord between Emperor and Pope—The question of the Italian Concordat—Every kind of vexation given to the Emperor—The Ancona affair—This is no religious question—The continental blockade and the Papal States—Is the Pope a friend or enemy?—Increase of Napoleon's pride—The abortive scheme of a Coronation at Rome—The Pope's journey marks the end of the Gallican Church—The Constitutionals and the Little Church—The Ultramontane opinion—The Catholic allies of the Coalition.

The Pope had now been at Paris nearly four months, and amid the bustle of festivals, at which he hardly appeared and had nothing to do, he visited the churches and gave audiences to the faithful and even to the curious. He was affable, even easy-going. Like a traveller he visited the sights: the Bois de Boulogne, the Invalides, the Sèvres manufactory, the mint for medals, the Gobelins, the Hôtel Dieu, the Vernis metal manufactory, the Imperial Library, the School of Mines, the Imperial Press, the Hôtel des Monnaies, the School of Arts and Crafts, the Institution for Deaf Mutes, and the Quinze-Vingts Blind Asylum. At each visit there was an address, a blessing, a display, printing of books, such as the Lord's Prayer in 150 languages, striking of medals, process-demonstrations, experiments, and so forth. These could interest, amuse, and instruct him, but was it for this that he had come to Paris? Was it for this that he delayed? It has been said that the Emperor employed every means to retain him, and that he wished to inspire him with the idea of remaining at Paris, or at least of dividing his life between that city and Rome. Certainly the notion may have then suggested itself to Napoleon. He may have tried the ground by means of an insinuation made through one of his confidants to an officer of the Pope. It cannot be gainsaid that this was one of his schemes for the future. It is useless to discuss whether such a plan did not take shape in his mind as his continually increasing fortune raised him to the pinnacle of fame and caused him to lose his sense of the reality of things. But at this moment, if the suggestion was very cautiously made, on receiving a rebuff he pressed the matter no farther. In fact, he would have asked for nothing better than to see the Pope depart. It was a labour to arrange every day his visits, organise excursions, regulate his audiences, draw up addresses, and pay the proper compliments to the Pope. His stay was embarrassing and very costly; there was the hire of furnished houses for the Pope's train, furnishing, washing, heating, lighting, and food, which came to a million at least. Besides, Napoleon was divided between the fear that enough should not be done, that the honours paid were not sufficient for the loftiness of the Papal dignity, and the apprehension of doing too much, of an increase of Ultramontanism resulting from the Pope's journey, and of Pius VII becoming so popular that he, the Emperor, should find himself thrown into the shade. He went so far as even to forget the deference he should have shown to the Pope as his guest. He placed him in the third place at the banquet of the 14th of Frimaire, he took precedence of him on every occasion; he "overwhelmed him with humiliations," said Consalvi, whose hatred urged him to exaggerate everything. Was not this done with the intention of forcing Pius VII to return to Rome? His departure would have settled everything; for at present, since he had come and given in on almost every point about the ceremony, since he had officiated at the blessing, Consecration, and enthronement, it would be necessary to pay him. This was why the Emperor wished for the departure of the Pope and why the Pope was unwilling to depart.

Doubtless magnificent presents were prepared for him, and efforts were apparently made to satisfy his wishes. It appears that he had expressed a wish for a carpet from the *Savonnerie* carpet manufactory for his drawing-room; two were offered to him, one of 25 feet, the other of 12 feet: these cost 30,000 francs. He had praised the Gobelin tapestries; eight pieces were chosen out for him, with subjects from the New Testament, costing 80,000 francs. The Empress would have given him a rochet, but she had already sent him one by Tascher. Its place would be taken by two candelabra which he had noticed at Sèvres, the price 24,000 francs. To these last were added some vases, a tea-set, and a service, costing 12,000 francs. The Communion-plate, which, together with a Papal tiara, was to be the principal gift, was of a very different kind. The altar-slab was to be of solid lapis lazuli, covered with bees of silver-gilt. In the middle a bas-relief was let in of gilded silver, 9 feet long by 3 feet high, representing the Nativity, and containing eighteen salient figures designed by Lebrun and executed by Couston. This was a happy idea proposed by M. Auguste, a goldsmith related to Couston's family. At the time of the sale he had bought this bas-relief, which had been given by Louis XIV to the professed House of the Jesuits. Some apostles executed by Castelier, and a Christ, the work of Roland, were added to it. As to the chalice, the paten, the oil-vessels, and the chased gold platter executed in the most modern style, they were to be adorned with twenty-four cameos of the fifteenth century on which were cut the scenes of the Passion, and with a later cameo—a head of Jesus Christ. The whole gift would not cost 240,000 francs, and the bas-relief and cameos, if it had been necessary to make them, would have cost more than the entire Communion-plate. Fleurieu, the Surveyor-General, was delighted. "No ornament comparable to the Communion-plate is to be seen," he wrote, "in Italy or elsewhere." The public were admitted to inspect the models, which were displayed in the Napoleon Museum, and which had been strongly approved of by Talleyrand, Visconti, and d'Hauterive. Fesch then came forward and said that they were very ugly and altogether unsuitable; this he told to the Emperor. Napoleon became uneasy, wished to examine into the matter himself and went to see the plate at the beginning of Germinal. He consulted Denon, who was already at strife with Fleurieu on several other points and whom they had endeavoured to keep out of the affair. Denon answered: "A present such as your Majesty is making to the Pope at so considerable an expense is destined for a country where things of this kind are fully appreciated, and where it will be exhibited and looked at with curiosity and interest. It will become a sort of monument to which your name, Sire, will be attached for a thousand years. I am far from seeking to criticise what others have recommended to you, but I consider it my duty, Sire, on account of the office that you have given me and the confidence which your Majesty has had the goodness to repose in me, to say plainly that this present, regarded as a whole, is made up of incongruous parts; that the front of the altar-slab, though very good in itself, is not in keeping with the style of the chandeliers, which are poor and heavy; that the chalice and the oil-vessels are, again, of a third style, and that none of these has the characteristics of either grandeur or good taste." The Oracle having spoken, the Emperor now became very doubtful about his Communion-plate. He thought at least that he would make up for it with the tiara. The design submitted by Auguste was valued at 179,800 francs. On a central structure of white velvet were to ascend the three crowns of gold, each consisting of a large hoop surmounted with flower-work of wrought leaves, enriched with rubies, emeralds, and sapphires and surrounded with brilliants on a setting of matched and chosen pearls. The middle of the hoop of each crown was to be taken up with a bas-relief wrought in gold, representing "the Re-establishment of Worship, the Concordat, and the Consecration." In this work 3,345 precious stones and 2,990 pearls were employed. But a tactless notion was entertained of completing this masterpiece by placing on its summit the emerald which Pius VI had had to remove from his tiara and hand over to the French in order to pay the contributions of Tolentino. This emerald had since then been preserved in the Museum of Natural History, and was taken thence for the present purpose.

Again, the Emperor had granted certain pensions from the privy purse to the Chiaramonti: 15,000 francs to Count Gregory, 15,000 to Don Hyacinth, the Archdeacon of Cesena; 15,000 to Countess Octavia, and 15,000 to the widow of Count Thomas. The letters-patent were made out on an order given to the Controller-General on the 13th of Prairial (June 2nd). But this was somewhat distasteful to the Pope, and when Napoleon wished to pass on to his nieces, "his Holiness expresses the desire that they should be given no pension, only a present."

They could not be less generous towards the Pope's followers: there was a portrait-box of 30,000 francs and a rochet of 10,000 for each of the five cardinals; diamonds worth from 10,000 to 8,000 for each of the ten Grand Officers, from 6,000 to 4,000 for the eight others; 26,000 francs in gold for the household. Such was Fleurieu's proposal. But the rochets were pared down and the money for the household was reduced by nearly 8,000 francs. They economised in everything, and the economies were mean, even offensive in the eyes of the Pope; for after announcing and proclaiming what they intended to bestow, they withdrew the presents which had been destined for him, and which had even been exhibited as destined for that purpose. Thus with the Communion-plate which the Emperor wished at first to bestow upon Notre-Dame, and which he afterwards gave to St. Denis, paying 181,300 francs for it instead of the 240,000 which had been asked. Thus with the two coaches the rumbling of which made a great noise at first, but soon died away. Thus with the Gobelin tapestries, which were not of the first freshness, and with the Sèvres porcelain, which was reduced to two candelabra and a service for one person. Thus, above all, with the tiara, of which the famous emerald seemed in the eyes of Consalvi to be an insult to the conquered. The latter strove with all his power to disparage everything which came from France, to show how mean a use the Emperor had made of his magnificence, and especially to make public the tactlessness of which inferiors had been guilty but for which the Emperor had to answer.

Even admitting there was some truth in this—as cannot be denied, for example, in the case of the Communion-plate and the emerald of Pius VI—is it necessary to believe that the Emperor would have acted in this discourteous manner to show his displeasure? Was this a case of inimical subordinates or mere stupid niggardliness? Either way, it was not worth the trouble. Such things were too paltry to touch Pius VII. Certain promises had been made to him on questions of Church discipline, and certain hopes held out of the improvement of the lot of the clergy. Fesch had doubtless gone a good deal farther in conversation, but no engagements had been made except as regards the Constitutionals and the ceremonial of the Coronation. As the greater number of these engagements had been attacked, referred to discussion, and finally set aside, the Pope had reason to fear that he would be still worse treated as regards the matters on which he only possessed the assurances of goodwill as a guarantee. He made up his mind that he would not re-enter Rome without some spoils, and he refused to go. It was thought that he would never take his departure.

As regards the former constitutional bishops, the Emperor had given him full satisfaction. Of the twelve Constitutionals appointed bishops at the time of the Concordat six had since then refused to sign a formula of retraction at which their consciences revolted. The Abbés de Pancemont and Bernier received authority to reconcile them; Bernier, who had taken the task upon himself alone, announced that they had submitted. They were appointed bishops, but on their protesting that they had renounced none of their convictions, the Pope refrained from dispatching their Bulls. This situation had continued ever since the Concordat. Their submission or dismissal had been one of the principal questions of the negotiations between Consalvi and Fesch. After every species of punishment had been discussed, it was judged sufficient that their reconciliation should be made orally to the Pope in the presence of the Abbé de Pancemont. But at a preliminary conference at the house of Portalis, which was attended by Fesch and de Pradt and also Pancemont, it was determined that they should be forced to sign a document containing these words: "I proclaim my submission to the decisions of the Holy See on the ecclesiastical affairs of France." The majority of them signed. Only Lecoz, Archbishop of Besançon, refused, and would not surrender until Fesch announced to him in a second conference that the Emperor demanded his signature. Lecoz still protested by letter that "amongst the decisions of the Holy See to which they demand his adhesion, he cannot include the briefs and decrees of Pope Pius VI, which deny the national rights, threaten a great part of France with excommunication, declare the sale of national property a sacrilege, and tend to perpetuate among us principles which our fathers have justly and constantly denied."

But Napoleon was pledged, and he treated lightly a question of the gravity of which he was either unaware or ignored. He would not listen to this despairing voice, which uttered a last appeal to the Gallican liberties. Lecoz was less straightforward with the Pope. He thus recounts his interview: "He asked me, with an air of kindly embarrassment that showed his apprehension of mortifying me, if I had submitted to the decisions of the Church. My answer was prompt and full of keen feeling: 'Most Holy Father, my true birthright is the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion. I have had the happiness to be born in it, I have not ceased to live in it, and I hope, by the grace of God, to die in it. For me the decisions of the Church are sacred. I have proclaimed them in my prison under the axe of tyrants, and I am ever ready to shed for her the last drop of my blood.' The Holy Father," adds Lecoz, "embraced me in his arms, bathed me with the tears of tenderness, and was himself bedewed with mine."

After such effusions it might be thought that they had understood each other; but actually it was not so. Lecoz did not understand by "the Church" the same thing as Pius VII did. But Pius none the less believed that he had conquered. The last Constitutionals had apparently capitulated, and with them—with, also, the Prelates of the Little Church—the Gallican Church was doomed to extinction.

In the Papal Court they would not even allow that the Emperor had fulfilled his promise. It was not to him that the bishops had yielded; they had been subdued "by the virtues, the affection, and the words of the Pope."

There remained the great questions in dispute. In preliminary interviews Pius VII had put forward certain pretensions which had been deemed inadmissible, and which he seemingly renounced of his own accord. He then confined himself to certain demands, which he doubtless considered as indispensable, and which were presented in three notes. By the first, drawn up by Cardinal Antonelli, he demanded that the grant allowed for the support of officiating priests should be raised from thirteen to forty millions, and that the seminaries should be endowed. By the second, drawn up by the Prelate Bertozzoli, he demanded the abolition of the Organic Articles and the four Articles of the Declaration of the Assembly of the Clergy of France in 1682; the reformation of the law of divorce; the establishment of seminaries; exemption from military service for ecclesiastical students; the entrustment of the punishment of the crimes committed by ecclesiastics to the bishops; the increase of the salaries of the clergy and of the pensions for the monks and nuns; the legal observance of Sunday and the prohibition of menial work on Sundays and holidays; the forbiddance of married priests to teach in the schools; the organisation of religious instruction in the academies and grammar schools; the assurance of the submission of the constitutional bishops; the restoration of the Church of Ste Geneviève as a place of worship; the daily celebration of service in the cathedrals; the re-establishment of Congregations and missions ; and the proclamation of Catholicism as the predominant religion. Finally, in a third note, which the Pope was said to have drawn up himself, after mentioning the expenses of the Church and the losses which the Holy See had undergone, he recalled the gift of Charlemagne, and continued : " That it may accordingly please your Majesty, in order to render the parallel complete, to combine now an imitation of that voluntary and famous act by which Charlemagne restored to St. Peter all that he had recovered by his glorious arms of the gift which Pepin, his father, had formerly made to the saint, and which had been torn away by the Lombards whom he conquered—I speak of the Exarchate of Ravenna and the Pentapolis—to combine this act with the addition of other domains, and particularly with the duchies of Spoleto and Beneventum."

These demands for restitution had been made verbally first by Pius VII on a visit which he made to Malmaison. Napoleon had held out hopes, his Holiness afterwards came to the conclusion, " that there was nothing to be got even as regards the Romagna, at least for the moment." However, in the written answer which he gave, the Emperor did not reply with a pronounced negative. " Should God grant to the Emperor," said he, " the span of life common to men, he hopes that such circumstances will arise as will enable him to ameliorate and extend the domain of the Holy Father. On every occasion he will afford him assistance and support. He is ready to second the efforts which the Holy Father may make to escape from the chaos and embarrassments of every kind in which the Holy See has been plunged by the crisis of the late war."

Napoleon could not do more on the eve of assuming the crown of Italy. To sever from his kingdom certain provinces which might be accounted the richest and most attached in order to replace them under the sway of the Pope would have been a strange gift to make to his people at his joyful accession. But such circumstances might arise as to make it possible that, provided "the Holy See was restored from chaos" and its administration improved, provided again the States of the Church fell in with the Napoleonic policy, the Pope might obtain an augmentation of territory.

It is likely that Napoleon was here acting in good faith. This, doubtless, may seem unlikely in the light of other schemes which he entered upon later; but these changes were due to circumstances, and do not imply deliberate knavery in his design. At the present moment he was still inclined to think that the temporal independence of the Pope was of advantage to his spiritual independence—provided he did what was asked of him in the interests of the general security. But of this he had no doubt: "With the French armies and a few attentions," he said, "I shall always be sufficiently the master."

As regards the demands made by the Pope in favour of the Church of France, the Emperor had referred them to the Minister for Worship and had accepted, in their spirit and tenor, the answers which Portalis had prepared. These replies show at the same time his desire to yield nothing of political importance and the very sincere intention to improve the lot of the clergy and, in this respect at least, to fulfil the engagements entered into by Cardinal Fesch. The Pope had given way on the suppression of the Organic Articles and the Declaration of 1682. "To-day," wrote Portalis, "every extravagance is abandoned, and we confine ourselves to what is really pressing." He did not delay in his reply. On the reformation of the law of divorce, he answered that divorce was a civil act, that the priests were free to refuse the nuptial blessing to divorced parties, and that such a refusal could not be appealed against to the Council of State, but that "the Civil Law cannot proscribe divorce in a country where the sects which permit it are tolerated." Touching the jurisdiction of bishops over the clergy, the law was absolute, "when the affair should be one of offences concerned merely with Church discipline, and punishable only by laws laid down in the canon." But if it concerns the laws of the State, the priest, who had not ceased to be a citizen, was still subject to the authorities charged with their execution. As regards the increase of Church endowment, he answered: The French cardinals, although not provided for by the Concordat, had been endowed, and three of them possessed seats in the Senate. Salaries had been assigned to the canons and vicars-general. Twenty-four thousand chapels-of-ease had been created, each with a grant of five hundred francs. The other chapels-of-ease were regularly maintained at the expense of the Communes. The property of the ancient buildings which had not been alienated had been restored to the churches. The General Councils of Departments were instructed to increase the percentage of the rates to defray the cost of the repair and upkeep of buildings and the expenses of worship. The Treasury had undertaken to defray the expense of ten metropolitan seminaries. At the request of the bishops certain national buildings had been given up daily for the use of the diocesan seminaries. The seminaries were permitted to receive any gift or legacy, even in land. The Emperor would provide chaplains for the land and sea forces; he had already authorised the appointment of chaplains to the civil hospitals. The task of providing pensions for the clergy would be carried on without interruption. The greater part of the able-bodied and respectable clergy were already employed in ecclesiastical duties. The nuns had been allowed to live in common; those who had devoted themselves to public education had been permitted to carry out the performance of their vows. With regard to the question of conscription, the Emperor promised to do all he could to reconcile the greater interests of the State with the pressing needs of the Church. Prohibition of work on Sundays and holidays was refused, but the State would set the example: all outdoor and public work was forbidden to officials of every rank and class. No married priest or monk would be employed in public education. The education of the youth would never be entrusted to priests who were not in communion with their bishop. Religious instruction would be given in the grammar schools, and bishops would sit upon their Boards. The constitutional bishops had submitted there was no need to return to that point. The Church of Ste Geneviève would be restored as a place of worship. The bishops would be invited to celebrate daily service in their cathedrals. The congregations of men would not be permitted for the moment; but the Corporations of the Sisters Hospitallers had been re-established and placed by the Emperor under the protection of his mother. The existence of the Irish seminaries had been assured by their reunion. The Lazarists had been re-established; they had received a house and an endowment of fifteen thousand francs. The seminary for foreign missions had just been re-established; it was authorised to receive gifts and legacies, and to retrieve for its houses the goods and revenues which the third buyers had only acquired with the intention of restoring them again. The Seminary of the Holy Ghost had also been re-established, authorised to receive gifts and legacies, and restored to its house near Orleans. The Emperor would replace the sum formerly paid to the Chapter of St. John Lateran by an equivalent revenue, on the condition that he should enjoy the rights, prerogatives, and honours which had formerly belonged to the ancient kings of France. Lastly, the Emperor explicitly refused to declare the Catholic "the predominant religion"; the Constitution forbade and his oath prevented this.

Such were the promises of the Emperor. His successive decrees and notices issued from the Council of State from the 3rd of Nivôse of the year XIII (December 24, 1804) up to the 30th of September, 1807, prove sufficiently that he kept them, and that he bestowed upon his measures in favour of the Roman Catholic Church a strength, a legal solidity, and a coherence which attest the continuity of design and the maturity of his reflection. The decrees of the Council of State alternated with its notices, which were equally efficient. On the 3rd of Nivôse of the year XIII there was a notice on the exemption granted to the communal properties (churches and parsonages) from being united to the national domain. On the 6th of Pluviôse a notice on the relinquishment of the churches and parsonages to the Communes. On the 15th of Ventôse a decree concerning the restitution of the goods taken from the sees, collegiate churches, and cathedrals, provided they had not been alienated. On the 7th of Germinal a decree granting to the bishops the *Imprimatur* for the books of the Church, Hours, and Prayers. On the 29th of Messidor a decree granting to the churches the property and revenue of the brotherhoods. On the 13th of Thermidor a decree concerning the formation of a relief fund for infirm priests. On the 22nd of Fructidor a decree on the administration of the property restored to the churches. On the 14th of January, 1806, a ministerial letter forbidding a certificate of marriage to be given to a priest. On the 20th of February a decree establishing the Imperial Chapter of St. Denis, and restoring the Church of Ste Geneviève to Catholic worship. On the 18th of May a decree concerning funeral services in the churches and funeral processions, and the relinquishment to the vestries of the organisation and management of funeral ceremonies. On the 30th of May a decree uniting the suppressed churches and parsonages to the property of the vestries. On the 19th of June a decree commanding the hospitals and charitable institutions to pay for the religious services which had been endowed with property that had been put into their possession. On the 30th of September, 1807, a decree creating 2,400 scholarships in the seminaries at the expense of the State; a decree raising the number of chapels-of-ease to 30,000; a decree organising the Chapter of the Sisters Hospitallers; and a decree regulating the position of mission seminaries. Such was—to reckon only the most important and characteristic acts—his anxious and careful work. Such was the fulfilment he gave of his engagements. This it was that caused Consalvi to write "that Pius VII, on several questions, had met only with refusals, and on others with faint assurances which were never realised." Bad faith and injustice are here so evident that they lay bare the spirit of the Sacred College. Since they had obtained neither the restoration of the Legations nor the abolition of the Organic Articles nor the proclamation of the predominant religion, they considered all that had been done for the Church and its ministers as nothing. They seem to have considered that Catholicism could not exist save where Ultramontanism was all-powerful.

Pius VII, separated as he then was from the leaders of the Sacred College, did not think thus. On leaving Paris on the 5th of April (Germinal 26th, accompanied by M. de Brigode, the Chamberlain, and Colonel Durosnel, the Equerry of the Emperor, he appeared contented with his journey, although, on account of the need for horses, he had been obliged to depart after the Emperor, who had gone to Italy for his Coronation, and although he had to put up with several checks and delays on the road which might have been very vexatious to him. He testified his satisfaction at Turin on the 26th of April (Floréal 6th), when he separated from the Emperor. He testified it on the 2nd of May (Floréal 12th) by a brief dated from Parma, to which he added, with his own hand: "We pray Your Majesty to preserve his affection towards us and to present Our salutations to his august Consort." He testified it on the 18th of May (Floréal 27th) by a brief dated from Rome, in which, however, he alluded to some difficulties arising out of the affair of the Germanic Concordat. He testified it finally on the 26th of June (Messidor 7th), when, in a speech which he pronounced in a secret Consistory, he recounted his journey and enumerated the benefits which the Emperor had granted to the Church. "We cannot recall," said he, "without a particular feeling of gratitude the frankness, the politeness, the amenity, and affectionate foresight with which he listened to the wishes that We expressed to him in the language of Apostolic Liberty, and received the demands that We made to him for the good of the Catholic religion, the glory of the Gallican, and the authority and dignity of the Universal Church." Doubtless in many cases he had obtained only promises, but "many things have been done which are the gage and earnest of what is yet to be performed." On other considerations he was pleased to have come into France. "The Merciful God has deigned," said he, "to bestow so many blessings on Our journey that the bishops do not hesitate to affirm that it has contributed more than was thought possible to the spiritual good of the People."

Such were the sentiments that the Pope expressed. If it be admitted with Consalvi that " the memory and the pen refuse to record the humiliations with which Pius VII was overwhelmed during the whole time of his unhappy sojourn," and if with him it be believed " that the Pope had need of virtue, moderation, and gentleness to follow the great example of humility shown by the God of whom Pius VII was the Vicar here on earth," it must be allowed that his charity toward the Emperor had been truly apostolic. But Pius VII in France, or even on the point of leaving France, was very different from Pius VII at Rome under the influence of the cardinals.

Consalvi strove to stir up discord whenever an opportunity presented itself. At Milan the Emperor had, according to his promise, re-established the Italian Concordat in its full vigour. By a Royal decree, dated the 8th of June, he had provided in a magnificent manner for the financial organisation of the clergy. He had given back their property to the religious Orders devoted to education, to the care of the sick, and to missions. He had pensioned the infirm priests. He had reunited in different houses the members of the meditative and mendicant Orders and assured their subsistence to them. He had restored the property of the bishoprics, and endowed those bodies which had no revenues—the chapters, the seminaries, and the vestries. To these last, which had been despoiled, he assigned revenues of from four to nine thousand francs. This was infringing on the Spiritual Powers. The Pope protested in a sharp letter, which Consalvi drew up. "My intention has been to do everything for the best; am I deceived?" answered the Emperor; and he frankly stated what he had wished to do. "I pray His Holiness," he wrote, "to believe in the desire that I have to see him happy and contented, and in the fixed determination wherein I now am to give him no cause for grief or discontent." And to Fesch: "I do not wish to have any dispute with the Holy See, nor to give it any cause for complaint." But the Cardinals sought a quarrel. Although they gave in about the decree of the 8th of June, they attacked the constitutional law of the kingdom. The introduction of the Napoleonic Code into Italy was the battlefield they chose. They did not shrink from giving any mortification to the Emperor, and caused the Pope to refuse a dispensation from the marriage which Jerome Bonaparte, the young brother of Napoleon, had contracted when a minor—and under conditions of secrecy which at any other time would have rendered it fundamentally void—with an American Protestant at Baltimore, against the wish of his mother. They made Rome a place of asylum for all the enemies of the Emperor. When war broke out between France and Austria they showed their real intentions and invited an invasion of the English or Russians. When the Emperor found himself obliged to occupy Ancona, in order to provide for the safety of the troops employed in the kingdom of Naples, they obliged Pius VII—on a rumour of a defeat of the French forces—to write him a threatening letter.

On the religious question there was no dispute, but at every moment the political questions grew more burning. They became intensified when the Emperor undertook the conquest of the kingdom of Naples, and when Napoleon engaged in that struggle with England in which he fought the Mistress of the Seas by means of his mastery over the Continent, when he answered by the closing of all the ports to the closing of all the ocean, and when he wished to know clearly whether the temporal sovereign of Rome was with or against him. Doubtless he was at the same time not far from thinking that, since he had practically re-established the Empire of the West, he had the right to exercise the same power as the emperors of old. Doubtless he was of the Ghibelline blood, and the slumbering Ghibelline tradition within him was awakened. Doubtless he had believed that on his return from Austerlitz the Pope would have hastened to offer to him at St. Peter's the crown of that Empire which he had just re-established, and that thus, like the emperors of the Holy Roman-Germanic Empire, he would add to the Consecrations of Paris and Monza the third Consecration of Rome, which would bestow the loftiest investiture upon his Western Empire. But all the obstacles which he experienced would have vanished had he been able to confer privately with Pius VII, and if the Sacred College—whose prisoner the Pope was—had not striven to render the rupture irremediable, and to prevent any personal approaches or direct communication.

All this would have been very different had it not been for the Pope's journey to Paris and the Catholic Consecration. The Emperor would not have had the same confidence in his influence over the Pope, whose power he very wrongly imagined to be absolute, like his own. He would have remained in the excellent position in which the Concordat had established him. He would not have been the debtor but the benefactor of the Roman Church. He would have been able to demand anything from her, as regards temporal matters, without the Pope being able to reproach him at every moment with having made empty promises. If he had not made an official declaration of Catholicism, he would have been unmoved by a Bull of Excommunication. As it was, in three years they had arrived by incident after incident to open war. But this journey of the Pope across France had produced a considerable movement less in favour of religion than of the Holy See. The Pope had been hitherto unknown in France, it might almost be said ignored. Each Catholic was in touch only with his priest, or at most with his Bishop. But now the Pope had appeared as the living and active Head of the Church. He had ceased to be a distant and hazy personage, and had become a distinct and visible reality. He aroused enthusiasm and left behind him memories. His Ultramontane militia, officially abolished but actively at work and more vigorous than ever, was entrusted to develop them, to construct on them a doctrine and to spread it among the faithful, to teach it in the seminaries. Gallican doctrine, already greatly weakened by the two schisms of the Constitutional and Little Churches, and mortally wounded by the Concordat, was on the point of being effaced and destroyed. The last of its supporters were those emigrant priests who had raised their protests in vain against the Pope on the subject of the Coronation : the Abbé Coulon, who published his " A Discourse against the Coronation of Bonaparte, dedicated to all the Friends of Justice and Honour " ; the Abbé Blanchard, Vicar of St. Hippolyte, who published " The Political and Religious State of France become still more deplorable in consequence of the Journey of Pius VII " ; the Abbé of St. Martin with his " Brotherly Advice " ; there were a few others perhaps, but how many? An opinion arose which was fomented by the Ultramontane priests, and, save for a few rare exceptions, the most zealous propagators of it were those whom the Emperor thought were the most devoted to his person. As soon as Rome had spoken, from the time when the Pope, making use of his spiritual arms for his temporal interests, had hurled his censures against him who had even begged to be anointed with the holy oil and enthroned at his hands—from that time everything by which Napoleon had expected to benefit in the Consecration turned against him, and those very persons whom he had hoped to win over and conquer thereby, whose fidelity he had accordingly believed to be assured, became his worst enemies. It even seemed to some that since Napoleon had shown such monstrous ingratitude, the Pope who had given had the right also to take away ; so that if the Imperial power was apparently unshaken by the thunders of the Vatican, there actually arose around it an atmosphere of disaffection, a spirit of opposition, and a sullen conspiracy for its destruction by which all the enemies of the Revolution, Frenchmen or foreigners, were to profit alike.

CHAPTER IX

THE PROFITS OF THE CORONATION

What benefits had Napoleon gained by the Consecration ?—His popularity at Paris—The cost of the Consecration—The false figures published by the Emperor—The real figures —The Parisians dissatisfied—Epigrams and puns—The songs—The images—The tone of the iconography—The success of the Pope—The theatres—No occasional pieces —The tragedy of *Cyrus* at the Théâtre-Français—Verses and speeches—The criticism—Its failure—The remarks of the editors of the posthumous works of M. J. Chénier—The odes, Latin and French verses—Their poverty—Silence of the *Moniteur*, reticence of the Emperor in his address from the throne—The *Account of the Situation of the Empire*—What the people thought—The nobility and the Empire—What Joseph de Maistre wrote—Father Ventura—Napoleon *Vicar of Legitimacy*—The Consecration is a step towards the counter-Revolution—What Napoleon seems to think.

Posterity—Art and the Coronation—The two regicides : Chénier and David—The picture of the Coronation—The requirements of David—Letter to Ségur—David appointed first painter—His intentions—The studio hired for David —Preliminary studies—Painted studies—Plan proposed by David—The four pictures—The price asked—David's hesitation—Poor composition—Search for a literary, not a pictorial, effect—Gerard's intervention—The downward gesture—The Emperor's satisfaction—100,000 francs paid for the picture of the Coronation—*The Distribution of the Eagles*—David not responsible for it—Other pictures—The Book of the Consecration—How it was conceived—How executed—How preserved—Sabey, Fontaine, and Percier —The picture of the Coronation has done everything to popularise the Consecration with posterity—What Posterity thinks of the Consecration.

SUCH was the most obvious benefit obtained by the Emperor from the Consecration. What had he gained besides? Did the enormous expenses which he had himself incurred and caused also to others attach the Parisians who had most profited by them to his Government? It is in vain to calculate the total expenditure, or what the Consecration had cost such bodies as the Senate,[1] the Legislative Body, the City of Paris, the 108 Departments, and the 36 Good Towns; or individuals, Marshals, Generals, Grand Officers, Senators, Legislators, Tribunes, Mayors, and Presidents of Cantons. The computation must be confined to what had been paid out from the Treasuries of the Crown and State. Knowing the clamour that was being raised, the Emperor had this notice inserted in the *Moniteur* of Pluviôse 13th of the year XIII: "It has been asserted that the Coronation has cost fifty to sixty millions. It has cost four and a half—three to the Treasury of the Crown, one and a half to the State. The following are the figures: Ministry of the Interior, 700,000; of Justice, 300,000; of Worship, 100,000; of War, 400,000." But from an official calculation made in 1813, when the Coronation of the Empress and the King of Rome was being considered, it appeared that there had been paid out of the Treasury of the Crown, not three millions, but—on special accounts amounting to 5,151,576.52 francs—4,967,608.87 francs, which represent the direct expenses incurred for the purpose of the Consecration itself, not the additional expenses borne at this time by all the services and charged upon the general accounts of the Budget. There had been paid out from the State Treasury, not a million and a half, but 3,376,397 francs, thus apportioned: Interior, 1,182,964.67 francs; Worship, 213,598.20 francs; Foreign Affairs, 297,954.13 francs; Justice, 242,415 francs; War, 273,464.93 francs; War Administration, about 700,000; Sea, 266,000. This was at least double of what the Emperor had declared, and the money which had been poured into Paris on account of the Coronation could not be valued at less than twenty millions.

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[1] The dress of a Senator cost 2,400 francs, the dress of a legislator in embroidery alone sixteen to eighteen hundred.

Were the Parisians satisfied? Whilst the embroiderers complained of having had so much work and so little time that they had been obliged to have recourse to the provinces; whilst the contractors grumbled at the middlemen who shared their profits, the citizens passed from hand to hand epigrams which were their delight. Some were coarse, some were obscene, and some were merely silly:

"Le zèle du préfet mérite qu'on le loue
Mais il a beau sabler, balayer nuit et jour,
Partout où passera la Cour
Partout on verra de la boue."[1]

They amused themselves with anagrams; for example:

"Napoléon Empereur des Français,
Ce fol Empire ne durera pas son an."[2]

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[1] "The energy of the Prefect is worthy of his pay, but he has to sweep and sand day and night wherever the Court will pass, wherever any mud is to be seen."

[2] "Napoleon Emperor of the French,
This foolish Empire will not outlast his year."

This notice was put up at the Carrousel:

"The Imperial Comedians will to-day present
The first Representation
of
'The Emperor in spite of all the World,'
followed by
'The Forced Consent.'
This spectacle is presented on behalf of an indigent family."

Then there were the puns and quibbles:

"Pendant la cérémonie, Bonaparte se tenait sur son trône, couvert, debout et sans glands."[1]

"Why did they put so many stars among the decorations of Notre Dame?—Because the hero of the festival fell from the clouds." "The lemonade-sellers vending their refreshments in the church cried out at the top of their voices: 'Almond cream, lemonade, marrons glacés, pistache.'" This pun, *Pie se tache*—"Pius dirties himself"—took on so well that they made an image of it. Since the name of Pius VII also lent itself to all kinds of ribald jests, the Gallic wit was unsparing.

There are four things by which to measure the popular feeling of a distant time: songs, pictorial representations, plays, broadsides and occasional verses. On this occasion the songs, generally written to order, were wretchedly poor. Popular songs had been called for; some of them were so silly that they were perhaps maliciously so, such as this one, to the tune of the *Bastringue* or half-crown hop:

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[1] "During the ceremony Bonaparte stood erect upon his throne, with his head covered and without tassels—or acorns." The jest is cryptic and, judging from the quality of the others, scarcely worth elucidation.

"Vive, vive Napoléon
Qui nous baille
de la volaille
Du pain et du vin à foison.
Vive, vive Napoléon!"[1]

And this one, to the tune of *V'la c'que c'est d'aller au bois*—"Look what it is to go to the wood":

"Napoléon est Empereur
V'la c'que c'est d'avoir du cœur!
C'est le fils aîné d'la valeur;
Il est l'espérance
Et l'appui d'la France.
Il lui rendra, tout'sa splendeur;
V'la c'que c'est d'avoir du cœur."

Second verse:

"Il brûlait d'être au champ d'honneur
V'la c'que c'est d'avoir du cœur!
Le canon ne lui fait pas peur.
Par des faits de marque
Bientôt on le r'marque,
Il obtient un grade supérieur;
V'la c'que c'est d'avoir du cœur."[2]

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[1] "Long live, long live Napoleon, who supplies us with fowl and bread and wine in plenty. Long live, long live Napoleon!"

[2] "Napoleon is Emperor, look what it is to be a hero! He is the eldest son of valour; he is the hope and stay of all France. He will bring back to her all her glory. Look what it is to be a hero!

"He burned to be in the field of honour, look what it is to be a hero! The canon does not affright him. He is soon noticed by his deeds of renown, and raised to a higher rank; look what it is to be a hero!"

There was no mention of the Pope except in a musical comedy " sung in the different theatres of Paris," where a couplet was devoted to the Supreme Pontiff : *Te couronnant au nom du Roi des Rois*—" Crowning thee in the name of the King of Kings." There was none even in the *True Account of the Coronation of the Emperor by a young man of Falaise,* in twenty-two couplets, to the tune of *Aimez vous Mamzell' Suzon*—" Do you love Miss Susan? " This was according to order, either because fear was felt for the stupidity of the " official poets," or because it was not deemed advisable to increase a popularity already considered too great.

This popularity was attested by the images. There certainly were numerous representations of the Emperor and Empress in their grand costume, the Emperor kneeling to be crowned by the Pope, the Emperor crowning Josephine ; but they were neither so many, so excellent, nor so interesting as at the time of the Concordat or the General Peace. It was the portraiture of the Pope that was the most popular, consisting of thousands of portraits of every price, kind, and process, from mounted coloured engravings, which were dear, down to saintly little pictures which the devout kept in their Mass books. They were of every shape, appearance, and size, but mostly commonplace, as was suitable for commonplace people. The portraiture here, as in many cases, was significant. It showed that the success of the Pope had overshadowed that of Napoleon, not indeed in the eyes of the populace who had watched the procession, but in the eyes of the middle-class citizens and business-people. This is proved again by the quantity of fugitive papers, prayers, notices, and pamphlets sold or distributed, whilst, in spite of the police, in spite of Fouché, whose idea of "issuing several pamphlets on the Coronation" the Emperor had approved, there exists nothing to indicate the curiosity and enthusiasm of the people or the large circulation of certain official writings. The remains of them are scanty and there is nothing among them by which a doctrine could even be outlined.

The drama was astonishingly poor. There were no occasional or allusive pieces among the free shows given on Frimaire 10th, the eve of the Consecration. At the Imperial Academy of Music there was *The Constable* and *Psyche*; at the Français, the *Festin de Pierre* and *Sganarelle*; at the Vaudeville, *The Party-wall, Duguay-Trouin, René Lesage*; at the Marais, *Gabrielle de Vergy* and *The Nightly Drum*; at the Porte Saint-Martin, *The Hermit of Saverne*; at the Ambigu, *Georges and Pauline*; at the Gaîté, *Les Pointus*; at the Jeunes Artistes, *The False Beggars*; at the Jeunes Elèves, *Another Mannikin*; at Louvois, at La Cité, at Montansier, at Mareux, there was a free performance of the pieces then running. Only at the Opéra-Comique was it necessary to pay, this was for *Zémire and Azor*.

On the following days there was nothing except the tragedy of *Cyrus* at the Français. The author of it was renowned, infamous, and detested; it was Marie-Joseph Chénier—Marie-Joseph, the author of *Charles IX*, the regicide, the terrorist, the friend of Mme. de Staël and the lover of Mme. de la Bouchardie; Marie-Joseph, who scarcely two years ago had been expelled from the Tribunate;

it was none other than he. Although the official title of the tragedy was *Cyrus,* in everybody's eyes it was *The Coronation Cyrus*. Here was an opportunity for allusions! This conversion caused much astonishment, and a reason was sought for it. As a matter of fact the author of the *Promenade* had just sought a profitable reconciliation by means of the *Chant Maritime* ("Song of the Sea"), but people preferred the popular story. It was whispered then that Chénier had sold himself—"He will be a senator if the piece succeeds." Intrigues began on both sides. "The tatlers of the athenæums and green-rooms" prepared their gossip; on the other side "tickets for the performance were sent to the heads of the different grammar schools, so as to fill the building with their pupils." The theatre went to great expense, and the cast was composed of the pick of the company: Mlle. Duchesnois, Talma, Lafon, Monvel. There was to be "extraordinary scenery; a magnificence worthy of the subject, dresses exactly correct and of the greatest beauty, and decorations perfectly in harmony with the subject and skilfully executed after the designs of M. Peyre nephew, the architect of the Théâtre Francais." With regard to the play the plot (which did not admit of complications) was strangely childish. Astyages, King of the Medes, is the father of Mandane, wife of Cambyses, King of the Persians, and mother of Cyrus. Cambyses has been killed in a war against the Scythians, and Astyages, warned in a dream that Cyrus will deprive him of his throne, has bidden Harpages, one of his generals, to kill him. But Harpages, a worthy man, has brought up Cyrus under the name of Elenor. This Elenor has become a famous warrior, the leader of the armies of Astyages, who does not know who he is, and has never seen him. After a succession of famous victories Elenor re-enters Ecbatana, where Memnon, the Grand Magian, trusting in the oracles, awaits to consecrate him as Cyrus, the hero promised by the eternal gods. There follow recognitions, contradictions: "It is he! it is not he!" Elenor is the murderer of Cambyses, perhaps even of Cyrus. No, it is Cyrus himself, and the grand priest, the mother, and even the grandfather recognise him, crown, and make him king. All this is very trifling. The piece had been written only to give an opportunity for set speeches and allusions. These abound, as may be well believed. Thus Harpages says to Memnon at the end of the first act:

"Vous, Memnon, remplissant un auguste devoir,
Allez vous réunir à la tribu des mages;
Réservez à Cyrus d'unanimes hommages:
Pusqu'il lui fut donné de régner à son tour,
Qu'il montre aux nations l'équité de retour;
Favoir des destins, qu'il soit digne de l'être;
Des Mèdes, des Persans, le père et non le maître.
Qu'en s'appuyant du peuple il lui serve d'appui:
Qu'il règne par la loi, qu'elle regne par lui!"[1]

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[1] "Do you, O Memnon, fulfilling an august duty, go and mingle with the company of the Magians, and reserve their unanimous homage for Cyrus, since it has been given to him to reign in his turn, let him show to the nations the justice of his restoration. The favourite of Destiny, let him show himself worthy of being so. The father and not the master of the Medes and Persians, being supported by the People, let him serve as their supporter, let him reign by the Law and the Law reign by him."

There is better. This is what Memnon says before the altar of the Sun, on which burns the sacred fire :

"J'abaisserai le front de tes fiers ennemis,
A dit le Dieu vivant ; pour toi, ma main guerrière
Rompt des portes d'airain l'impuissante barrière ;
Les Rois à ton nom seul ont reculé d'effroi ;
Mon souffle t'accompagne et marche devant toi.
Tes lois dans Israël font cesser l'esclavage ;
Tyr abaisse à tes pieds l'orgueil de son rivage ;
Tu brises son trident qu'accusait l'Univers,
Et tes vaisseaux vengeurs delivrent les deux mers.
Aucun ne doit en vain dans ton empire immense
Invoquer ta justice et même ta clemence ;
Mille autres ont vaincu, tu sauras gouverner.
Et pour régner en tout, tu sauras pardonner.
Viens, commande à ce prix : ce sont là mes oracles,
J'ai préparé ta voie et de nombreux obstacles
N'auront fait que t'ouvrir un plus large chemin
Puisque le Dieu des dieux te conduit par la main." [1]

Finally Cyrus, when crowned by Memnon, takes an oath which is almost the constitutional oath :

"Toi qui lis dans les cœurs et punis le parjure,
Sur ton autel sacré, c'est par toi que je jure

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[1] "The living God has said : I will abase the foreheads of thy proud enemies ; for thee My warlike hand breaks down the powerless barriers of brass. The kings at thy name have recoiled in affright. My breath accompanies thee and goes before thee on thy way. Thy laws make slavery to cease in Israel. Tyre abases her proud coasts to thy feet. Thou breakest her trident which the whole world accuses, and thy vessels of vengeance deliver the two seas. None in thy immense Empire need invoke thy Justice and even Mercy in vain. A thousand others have conquered, thou wilt know how to govern ; and to reign over all, thou wilt know how to pardon. Come, rule on these terms : these are My oracles. I have prepared thy way, and the many obstacles will but open to thee a broader road since the God of gods leadeth thee by the hand."

D'obéir à la loi, d'aimer la vérité,
De donner pour limite à mon autorité
Ce qui peut l'affermir, la justice éternelle,
Les intérêts, les droits du peuple qui m'appelle ;
D'aller chercher, d'atteindre, en versant des bienfaits,
L'infortune muette et les malheurs secrets ;
Père des citoyens, juge pour les entendre,
Roi pour les gouverner, soldat pour les défendre,
D'illustrer le pouvoir déposé dans mes mains
De respecter les dieux, de chérir les humains ;
De régner par l'amour et jamais par la crainte,
Fidèle sur le trône à la liberté sainte,
Don qui nous vient des cieux, base des justes lois,
Premier besoin du peuple et soutien des bons rois." [1]

Besides the play being very bad in itself, it annoyed three classes of the spectators who filled the hall: the Royalists, first of all, who hated Chénier the regicide, and made the Grand Magian the object of the criticisms which they did not dare to make against the Pope; the Republicans, who could not feel pleased at their Chénier having become the poet of the new Empire; lastly, there were the partisans of Napoleon himself. "Several persons of better intentions than sense," said a police agent, " are disappointed because they have not found the character and situation of Cyrus sufficiently applicable to his Majesty the Emperor. They have seen in Cyrus rather a Duke of Angoulême or some such character, and they find the representation unsuitable, accusing the author of clumsiness, as though he had especially undertaken to present the career of Napoleon." The dramatists were not inclined to welcome the fact of Chénier coming out from his retreat and partaking of the privileges of authorship. " The manner in which M. Legouvé and his wife behaved during the performance," reported a police agent, " has caused it to be said that, if he is a rival of Chénier, he is at least scarcely a respectable one. It is necessary to speak of this here because his affectation of yawning, giggling, and shrugging his shoulders has been remarked." Finally there were the *dilettanti*: " several people insisted on calling for Voltaire after the play, pretending that it was by him rather than by the author."

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[1] "Thou who readest all hearts and who punishest perjury, it is upon thy sacred altar and by Thee that I swear to obey the Law, to love Truth, to set as a limit to my authority Eternal Justice which will strengthen it, and the interests and the rights of the People who have raised me up. I swear to seek out and destroy unvoiced oppression and secret misfortune, pouring out my benefactions; to be a father to the citizens and a judge who will give ear to them, a king to rule over them and a soldier to defend them; to make glorious the power given into my hands, to respect the gods and to cherish mankind, to reign by love and not by fear, to be faithful on the throne to Holy Liberty—a gift which comes to us from Heaven, the foundation of just laws, the first need of the People and the upholder of good kings."

A vain attempt was made to throw the responsibility of the failure upon the actors, " who had not acted in unison." Mlle. Duchesnois as Mandane " ranted and did not look like a mother." There was no hissing, for the Emperor was known to be behind the scenes; but there was worse. The failure was so complete that, after the first representation, *Cyrus* disappeared from the bill. For some time there was a notice among the announcements: " Shortly, the second performance of *Cyrus* "; then, " very shortly the second performance of *Cyrus* "; then, nothing. The play was so obviously written to order that the most implacable of Chénier's enemies abstained from hooting it; even Geoffroy was afraid. The *Journal des Débats*, usually so fond of theatrical news, did not venture to criticise the piece. It borrowed the article which had appeared in the *Moniteur* and printed it in its feuilleton. The *Mercure* treated the matter more lightly: "We are actually," said the editor, "in the same embarrassment as Sosia. He was forced to recite to the wife of Amphytrion the battle fought by her husband. 'But how can I do it,' said he, 'if I was not there?' How, too, can we speak of a tragedy which has not been published and which we have never been able to see acted?" The *Mercure* then digressed about Cyrus and his adventures. Moreover, this *Cyrus* was not published, and those who had not been present at the single performance were obliged to wait twenty years before being able to form an idea of it. At the end of that time M. Daunou inserted it in the "Posthumous Works" of Marie-Joseph, and had the impudence to assert that the object of the tragedy was "to read a severe lesson to the most imperious of despots, to place before him the duties of that supreme power which he had dared to usurp, and to demand solemnly on the behalf of the public liberty those pledges which he had violated." It was "the tyrant," too, who had interrupted its success. M. Daunou doubtless trusted in the certainty that the *Cyrus* which he published would not be read—but had he read it himself? Indeed, the conclusion he should have drawn is very different: At a time when the theatre was the usual battle-ground of the Parisians for their political feelings, the failure of *Cyrus,* after that of *Peter the Great* in the preceding year, was an indisputable proof of their hostility

The "odes, pieces of musick, and other works" were not more successful than the tragedy. When the Emperor ordered the Minister of the Interior to collect everything which had appeared on the occasion of his Coronation, "because it is proper that gifts should be made to the authors according to the excellence of their works," Arnault, head of the Department of Letters, occupied himself in making notes, which were always the same: "Excellent intentions," or, as a variation, "Intentions excellent." The only works of distinction he found were the Latin verses of M. Crouzet, Headmaster of the *Prytanée français* at Saint-Cyr: "An ingenious idea skilfully developed, a work worthy of remark"; the Ode of M. Danguy des Déserts, assistant-judge of the Criminal Court of Finisterre: "Some talented ideas"; the "Trasibule" of M. Beaunier, a cantata given at the banquet of the city of Paris, and the "Fasti" of M. Petit-Radel, another official of the City. Of the forty works collected in print or manuscript, to which a dozen more might have been added—for there was the *Coronation of the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Josephine,* by M. Labbé, of the Lyons Academy; an ode by Joseph Martin, ex-steward of the military hospitals; another by M. Pauvert, clerk to the Council of Revision at the Châtelet; a third by M. Rebullet, chaplain of the grammar school at Rennes; "The Homage of a Father of a Family," by M. Laënnec, a Counsellor-at-Law of Quimper; a Sapphic ode, by Mme. Marieti Sardi; verses by M. Villeneuve, professor, of Braunsberg, M. Th. Mandar, P. Colan, an artisan, M. Cizos, ex-member of the criminal tribunal of the Gironde, M. Lacroix, President of the Administrative Committee of the Civil Hospital at Bourgoin, M. Boucher, of Saint Quentin, M. Lemarchant, employee of the Council of Liquidation, the Abbé Reilles of Toulouse, Nougaret—that Nougaret who for twenty years had encumbered the pages of the *Muses' Almanack,* the inevitable Marron, pastor and poet, and these glorious unknown: Antoine Caillot, Uzanne the younger, Christine Babault, Ségny-Lavaud, Magol, Daurussac, Guéniot—the rest is oblivion. Of all these, ten were found to possess some talent, to which were added some coarse songs and prose summaries of the life of Bonaparte.

Everywhere was wanting such enthusiasm as finds vent in vigorous and lasting works in which the poet, in touch with the nation, nobly embodies the ideas that float around him. Such enthusiasm existed at the time of the birth of the King of Rome; if the Coronation did not excite the same, it was because it had stirred neither the feelings nor the heart of the people.

Knowing so well that the effect on public opinion had not been such as he had expected, the Emperor ordered silence to be maintained on the matter. No description of the ceremony ever appeared in the *Moniteur*. On the 12th of Frimaire, under the heading of Paris, the editor excused himself on account of "the deep feeling which does not allow the mind the necessary freedom to describe in so short a time this magnificent spectacle," and he added, "We are busied in the necessary work so as to satisfy, as far as possible, the natural curiosity of our readers." This work proved of such a kind that he abandoned the idea of even undertaking it, and the subscribers to the *Moniteur* never had their "natural curiosity" satisfied.

In his address from the throne at the opening of the Legislative body, the Emperor did not make the slightest allusion to the ceremony, and in the *Account of the Position of the Empire* the Minister of the Interior gave a justification rather than an apology for it. "From that moment"—the publication of the votes—said he, "Napoleon has been Emperor of the French by the most just of titles. No act was necessary to establish his rights or consecrate his authority. But he has wished to restore to France her ancient customs; to restore among us those institutions which Heaven was thought to have inspired, and to set the seal of religion herself upon the beginning of his reign. The Head of the Church, in order to show the French a proof of his fatherly tenderness, has been willing to lend his high office to this august ceremony." To disguise the truth in this way, how much must Napoleon have feared its publication!

As a matter of fact the people were suspicious. Neither the fountains of wine, nor the lottery of 13,000 fowls, nor the illuminations, nor the fireworks aroused them. They cared little for the 150,000 francs paid to the monthly wet-nurse agents, which had been in arrears since the 18th of Brumaire of the year VIII, and for the 87,000 francs distributed to the poor, not by the members of the Hospital Boards but only by the priests. Still less did they care for the 276,600 francs doled out by the Minister of the Interior in dowries for poor but honest girls who were married in each communal division. All this was provided for and regulated according to the Royal custom, which they remembered; and was it not a resuscitation of Royalism? Already in Prairial the new Emperor had decreed a kind of amnesty which, though certainly limited, was applicable to individuals who had been convicted for misdemeanours, and who were now detained only until the payment of their fine and costs, to State debtors whose persons were in arrest or sought for, and to non-commissioned officers and soldiers who had deserted to the interior instead of rejoining their regiments at the time appointed. Yet the impression had been as slight as when he had decreed on the 24th of Fructidor the institution of decennial prizes for the best works of every kind—Art, Science, Literature—to be adjudged on the 18th of Brumaire of the year XVIII.

While Napoleon made these paltry gifts to the People, while the plebeians condemned as the accomplices of Georges Cadoudal were executed with him in the Place de Grève on the 6th of Messidor, the noble friends of the Count of Artois, the instigators of the plot, had been pardoned. All the princesses of the Imperial family pitied and intervened for them, each making it a point of honour to save a nobleman. And the gentry reappeared; they swarmed in the ante-chambers which were opened to them by the new Cæsar. The households of the Emperor, the Empress, the

Princes, and the Princesses were composed of nobles. Every day they occupied all the avenues to the palace, and stalked around Napoleon in sumptuous liveries. It was they who had benefited by the Consecration—they, and the old order of things.

"The French Bourbons," wrote Joseph de Maistre at this time, "are certainly not inferior to any other reigning family. . . . But although I think them capable of enjoying royalty, I do not deem them able to re-establish it. Only a usurper of genius has a hand sufficiently firm and strong to do that. His very crimes are of infinite service for that purpose. There are certain things which a legitimate power cannot do. Leave Napoleon to his work. Let him smite the French with his rod of iron ; let him imprison, shoot, and transport all who give him offence ; let him make a Sovereignty and Imperial Highnesses, Marshals, Hereditary Senators, and soon, without doubt, Knights of the Order ; let him engrave *fleurs de lys* upon his empty escutcheon . . . nothing can be more useful than the transitory accession of Bonaparte, who will hasten his own downfall and re-establish all the foundations of the Monarchy without the legitimate Prince acquiring the least unpopularity."

Such must have been the view of some of the cardinals when the Sacred College permitted the journey of Pius VII. Such, at least, was the theory adopted and upheld by the Roman Church. Father Ventura, when officially charged to pronounce the funeral oration over Pius VII, said : "It was necessary that Buonaparte should be crowned. Pius

VII, guided by a heavenly wisdom, saw plainly that this Coronation, contrary as it might be in one sense to ordinary justice, was demanded by Heaven on behalf of a larger and more universal justice, and would turn to the profit of the very persons whose rights it seemingly destroyed. . . . Pius VII did not consecrate the usurpation ; he re-established the sovereignty. He did not set up a new Monarchy, but he revived the old to serve as a support and foundation for all others. He did not crown the son of the Revolution, but the instrument and agent of legitimacy."

The People had a confused perception of these views which de Maistre entertained of the future and which the Church was obliged to adopt and make her own, although at that time she had not the gift of prophecy, but simply trusted herself to Providence. They said that they had lost their Emperor, and they were not wrong. They said that the Consecration was a step towards the counter-Revolution, and they were right. As to Napoleon, in the first few days he had himself felt a sense of danger, a fear of stumbling, and had perceived that he was acting against the opinion of the nation. He soon shook off this feeling. In the increasing intoxication of his pride, in the chorus of flatteries which surrounded him, under the spell of the magnificence of this grandiose pomp he soon began "to entertain the idea that this ceremony had greatly aggrandised him in the eyes of the French." He delighted to listen to men like Pasquier telling him that "the benefits he had gained by the papal Consecration had been of an inestimable value to him

. . . that it had silenced all opposition and justified, while commanding, the submission of all." He refused even to listen to Pradt, who assured him that "wherever his travels and duties in different parts of France had enabled him to make any observations, he found that no favourable impression had been made by this act," and he declared to Napoleon's face that in his eyes he had appeared "to have been consecrated only by his sword."

It may be held, then, that for his own time, for the France of that day, Napoleon was wrong; that the thing was "an illusion, a childish trick," as de Pradt said. As regards posterity, which Napoleon always had in view and which constantly occupied his thoughts, it is a different matter. For it the Consecration has become a mysterious, almost legendary event, which arouses the imagination of the people, appears to belong to a far off period, and profits by the distance. If an attempt is made to analyse this sentiment, it appears that the Arts are largely to be held responsible for it. Disappointed in the poet whom he had employed to celebrate his coronation, Napoleon has been exceedingly well served by the painter whom he chose to represent it. The regicide David has avenged him on the regicide Chénier.

From the month of Vendémiaire of the year XIII, the Emperor had chosen out David and appointed him to paint the picture which was to represent the Coronation. "His Majesty," wrote David on the 30th to the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, "has also, at my suggestion, promised me a place from which I can form my ideas at ease without any trouble," and, fortified with this official invitation, he added: "After this offer I think it would be best if we visited the place together, so that I may in your presence settle on the spot in which to take up my point of view, and that you may give orders for a box to be erected for me there. The matter is pressing, and it is indispensable that I should sketch in advance the architecture and local surroundings, so that I shall have nothing to do later but work in the figures according to historical accuracy." This letter smacks of the Dictator; it is the tone adopted by the citizen members of the Committee of Public Safety. David treated Ségur as he had formerly treated Léthière, and in the delirium of the swell-headedness to which he was subject he seemed to imagine that he was the important man of the Coronation, which, as it turned out, he actually was. But Ségur, who had other ideas in his head, did not erect a special box; he contented himself with sending two tickets for a stand to M. David. "What is this? He must have a whole stand, and that placed behind Coustou's group, above the high altar!" Ségur answered dryly enough. David flew into a passion, threatened to appeal to the Emperor, then became, as usual, insulting. At this point Philippe de Ségur interfered and recalled him to a sense of propriety. There was very nearly a duel; at least, David boasted so. Whether he had or had not his entire stand is of little moment; at any rate, he saw, and saw well. Napoleon augured so favourably of the work he had commanded, that on the 27th of Frimaire, without waiting until he had seen the smallest sketch, he named David his Painter-in-Chief. This sufficed to turn a head which was never very strong. Under the title of Painter-in-Chief he hastened to claim every kind of prerogative which Lebrun had enjoyed at the Court of Louis XIV, and a dictatorship over the Arts more despotic than he had exercised during the Terror. In a letter of the 11th of Messidor he asserted his rights to the supreme administration of the Napoleon Museum, the Versailles Museum, the manufactories of Gobelins, Sèvres, the Savonnerie, Beauvais, and of the Louvre Exhibition; to the superintendence of works which were commanded from artists, the discussion of purchases, and the introduction of new schemes. This meant at once a complete control over the Fine Arts and the downfall of Denon. The Emperor, as may be believed, took no notice. He knew very well that it was only the works of David which were needful.[1]

On the 10th of Pluviôse of the year XIII (January 30, 1808) the Emperor had authorised the renting, at the expense of the State, of the church of Cluny in the Place de la Sorbonne to serve as a studio for David. But it had been necessary to alter this studio, and then "to construct the appliances necessary for such works" so that, although on the 25th of Floréal (May 15th) he had requested and obtained a first advance of 25,000 francs, David had only begun his picture on the 21st of December. He had actually fixed the features of all the persons who were to figure on his canvas by his sketches of marvellous precision and clearness. In portraying them he had followed Nature so closely—reserving the idealisation until later—that all the characteristics of his models were brought out by his pencil. He had afterwards undressed them, one after another—Emperor, Pope, dignitaries, and princesses—and had drawn them naked so as to present real flesh under their garments of state, to show them in natural attitudes, and to delineate their peculiarities of outline. Three albums had been filled with such studies. The grouping also had entailed long labour, for no less than eight different compositions are extant, each reduced to proper perspective by Dagotti. It was said besides that, following the example of Isabey, he had set up in a large case some dummies dressed by the skilful hands of Mme. Mongey, on which he studied the play and effects of light. He had likewise made certain studies in colour of the principal actors, naturally beginning with the Pope, who was about to return into Italy, but not before his finished portrait had been exhibited for eight days in the gallery of the Senate, counting from the 3rd of Germinal (March 24th). Afterwards came certain of the archbishops and cardinals, and some of the ladies who played an important part, such as the Lady of Honour and the Lady of the Bedchamber. By June, 1806, he announced that not only was he far advanced with the picture of the Coronation, but that he had determined on the other subjects which he proposed to paint and which he intended to connect by certain philosophical ideas.

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[1] To lessen the impudence of such a claim, it has been asserted that David was incited to it by M. de Fleurieu, Director-General of the Household, who, jealous of Denon, wished to overthrow him. Certainly Fleurieu and Denon got on badly together; but there was no connection between David's failure and Fleurieu's dismissal. This dismissal was caused by the slackness of supervision over certain forests belonging to the Crown and the extravagance of an inspector at Fontainebleau named Noël.

This was nothing less than four pictures, for the present, afterwards perhaps five or six. The first, *The Consecration*, symbolised Religion. The Emperor has mounted to his throne after the bestowal of the adornments by the Pope. " He takes the crown, places it on his head with his right hand, then with his left he presses the sword firmly to his heart." " This grand gesture," wrote David, " recalls to the admiring onlookers the truth so widely acknowledged—that he who has known how to win the crown will also know well how to defend it. The attitude, the gesture, and the looks of the awestruck multitude all indicate the feeling of admiration inspired in each." The Empress on her knees " awaits the crown which her august husband is going to place upon her head." Madame, the mother of the Emperor, is present in a gallery. The Princes, the Grand Dignitaries, and the Marshals perform the duties appointed for them by the ceremonial. This first picture will be finished in six months.

The second picture was to have been *The Republic*, representing the taking of the civil oath, which David wrongly called *The Enthronement*. The persons in it were to have been grouped as they appeared in reality.

The painter apparently had not yet made up his mind about the third, *The Distribution of the Eagles*, which was to have represented the Army. " Never was there a finer subject for a picture," he said. "Posterity on beholding this work will exclaim, 'What men and what an Emperor!'" It would have been more to the point if he had produced a sketch.

The fourth and last—*The Arrival of the Emperor at the Hôtel de Ville*—was for the People. "This represents their first act of obedience towards their sovereign; it is the Governor of Paris laying the keys of the city in the hands of his Emperor.

Each of these pictures was to measure 30 feet in breadth and 19 feet in height. David reckoned to finish them in six years, at the rate of eighteen months to each canvas. "I am working on two of them at once," said he; "one is already well advanced, and the other is begun." There was still the question of the price. "The care I take over my works," he wrote, "is well known, and also that I am not easily pleased. I intend to satisfy the expectation of Europe. I will be content with the sum of 100,000 francs for each."

This was a good deal of money. His *Sabines* had just been bought for 72,000 francs. Three portraits of the Pope had been painted without any one knowing that they had been ordered, also the unfortunate portrait of the Emperor for Genoa, which had been rejected. Since the beginning of the year XIV David had received 5,000 francs a month on account, and this allowance had been continued up to June, 1806, and he had already fingered 65,000 francs for the picture of the Consecration alone. No price had been arranged when the order had been given. Denon, who had a revenge to take—for the quarrel had continued—and who considered that no modern picture was worth more than 40,000 francs, and Daru, who had recently been appointed Surveyor-General in the place of Fleurieu, considered that the purse-strings should be tightened and accordingly stopped the advances.

David bore it patiently. Moreover, he was remodelling the figure of the Emperor with which he was dissatisfied. The pose he had imagined, though perhaps attractive from a literary point of view, was pictorially absurd. To begin with, the gesture of the right hand feeling for the head and placing the crown upon it was ungraceful, if not almost impossible; it required both hands. The gesture of the left hand was affected and did not balance that of the right. The group around the Pope seated before the altar did not harmonise with the group around the Empress upon her knees. The Emperor, attitudinising in this manner, destroyed the balance, and the composition no longer had any ordonnance or symmetry. It became worse when the painter passed from tentative sketches to the study of the clothed figure. He endeavoured to portray it in a score of ways, and thought by giving the Emperor an antique garb to escape the set which the Imperial mantle would assume in this position. But this mantle was necessary, it had to be painted just as it was; yet what, then, could be done with the half-sleeve and the awkwardness of the rucked-up tippet? However, he found no way out of it, and he had already painted in the entire figure. At this moment Gérard interfered. He was certainly no David, but he had a critical eye and a cool head. Besides, the solution was obvious to any one who was not prejudiced and who had not pored over the work for months past as the artist had done. Instead of giving Napoleon a soaring gesture, the figure of the Emperor should be made the centre of the composition and should bind together the two groups, imparting to them an interest and a reason for their artistic existence. Then the question of the attitude settled itself and became quite simple: Josephine, who was awaiting the crown, should receive it from the Emperor while the Pope bestowed his blessing upon her. The personages who up to then had been isolated fell into line, and the picture was complete. After thus following this advice of Gérard, David hesitated no longer. Scarcely a single coloured study is known of the figure of Napoleon in this second attitude, and even that one is perhaps of a later period. The figure was delineated straightway upon the scratched canvas. David's imagination, which was not of a wide range, had led him into a conception which would have spoiled his picture for ever and rendered it theatrical, unbalanced, and ridiculous. But his art, in which he excelled, had led him, for reasons simply of craftsmanship, which—whatever one may say—could not have sprung from sentiment, to work out an idea that was to gain him renown, draw the attention of every eye, haunt every memory, and furnish the chief impression that Posterity was to have of the Consecration.

What tends to prove that such was the real procedure of David and that he received no advice from any courtier, that he consulted no one, neither Denon, nor Daru, nor—although this was affirmed

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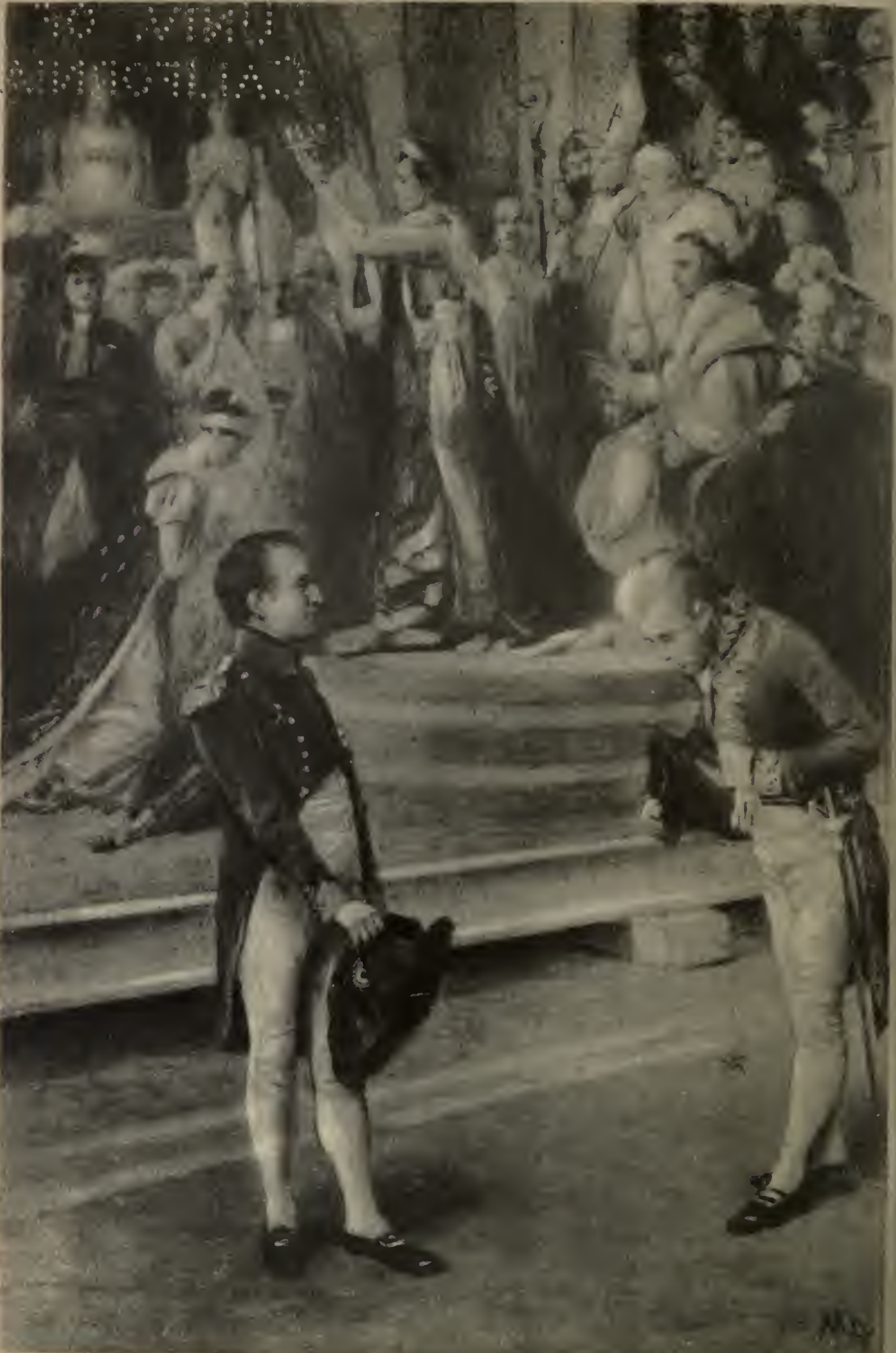

—the Emperor himself, who, moreover, during the year 1807 passed seven days in all in Paris and hardly a month and a half at St. Cloud, and could not have paid a single visit to the studio in the Place de la Sorbonne unnoticed—what tends to prove this is the kind of surprise shown by the Emperor when, on January 4, 1808, after his return from Italy, he came in great pomp, preceded by an imposing escort, accompanied by the Empress, and followed by all his Court, to visit the painter in his studio. "This is well done, David," said he. "You have read all my thoughts, you have made me a French knight." Then, after examining all the details of the picture for an hour and a quarter, walking before the canvas, looking at and taking note of everything, David on his left, the Empress on his right, all the courtiers at the bottom of the room motionless and silent, he took two steps forward, stood in front of the picture, raised his hat with that slow gesture which he affected, then lowered it as he did before the colours: "David," said he, "I salute you!"

The next day the Intendant-General made out an order on the Treasurer of the Crown for 35,000 francs in the name of David. The Treasurer objected. This brought the sum up to 100,000 francs for the one picture, and the stipulation had been only for 160,000 for two or four pictures. It appears that by now *The Enthronement* and *The Arrival at the Hôtel de Ville* had been abandoned. This objection would have been valid enough if the Emperor had not been to see the picture. The sum was paid.

As regards *The Distribution of the Eagles,* which is certainly far inferior to *The Consecration*, David was not entirely responsible for the bad composition of the picture. Besides, it was painted six years after the event, without ardour or enthusiasm, and from the uniforms and colours in use in the year 1810 (the letters of David to the Count de Cessac would prove this, if there was any need of proof). It is sufficient to make him responsible for the extravagance of the soldiers' gestures, the pomposity of the Emperor's, the stiffness of the attitudes—conceived as lifelike movement but frozen into an artificial pose—and the general air of having been made-to-order which was apparent in the picture and rendered it depressingly official. On the one hand, the gestures of the soldiers were directed towards a Victory painted on the ceiling which the Emperor had had obliterated, but which alone explained the ardour of the oath-taking; on the other, the incoherence in the Imperial group was caused by the removal of the figure of Josephine, which was ordered by the Emperor when the finished picture was exhibited at the Salon of 1811 and then placed in the Hall of the Guards at the Tuileries. Only 40,000 francs—the price fixed by the Emperor—was paid for *The Distribution of the Eagles*, but Napoleon added 12,000 francs more as a present.

The picture of "The Coronation" was the essential work, for the large canvas ordered from Sérangeli, *The Reception of the Deputations from the Army at the Louvre*, and the pleasing little picture of Demarne and Dunouy, "The Interview with Pius VII in the Forest of Fontainebleau," are only worth mentioning for the sake of curiosity.

Yet there is a certain representation which will always attract the attention of students of slighter art, obsolete ceremonial, and historic details. This is the Book of the Consecration. It is a handbook, a guide, an authority for the regulation of the ceremonies, and at the same time a model of the most delightful elegance.

M. de Ségur, the Grand Master, was possessed of an historical and literary taste, and was not without a love for the arts. By the side of the pictorial splendours of David's work he had pondered over a production, less ambitious but more exact, which was to illustrate the processions and dresses and provide a canon for the consecrations of the fourth dynasty, in which might be found preserved, in their gorgeous reality, the pomps which had formerly given him so much anxiety, and were now to cause him so deep a pride. Ségur had had in view the admirable example of *The Consecration of Louis XV*, the originals of which had been designed by Dulin and Perrot ; and, without paying any heed to a few still larger plates of *The Consecration of Louis XVI,* by Moreau the younger, without being tempted by the more handy size to which the scenes and dresses of *The Consecration of Louis XV* had been reduced in applying them to Louis XVI, he preferred to give a pendant to that marvellous and inconvenient book which perpetuated the magnificence of the old Monarchy. He had under his hand such collaborators as were necessary, the men who had continuously assisted him in this heavy enterprise—Isabey, who, with his stupendous activity, his marvellous invention, and his graceful imagination, had displayed before the Emperor, by means of puppets which he had designed and dressed, all the comings and goings of the processions and evolutions. Isabey had managed the clothes, accessories, decorations, and hangings. Already Designer to the Cabinet, in consequence of the Coronation he was about to obtain the post and salary of Designer of Ceremonies. To Isabey, Ségur added Percier and Fontaine, the architects who had directed the works within and without the church and who were representative of the decorative art of their age. Percier and Fontaine had actually undertaken on their own account another work on the Consecration, but it was confined to the architectural decorations and designs in outline, so there would be no useless repetition. Disdaining to put his name to the text, which he would have written better than anybody, Ségur entrusted the editing of it to M. Aignan, one of his assistants in the ceremonies, and whom, for this reason or for his tragedies, he promoted to the second class of the Institute. Finally, this would be an opportunity for the ablest engravers to display their skill, and by this he was certain of winning the favour of the Emperor, who was always ready to patronise finished works of art in which the artists had been profitably occupied—especially when they were for the purpose of celebrating his glory.

On the 10th of Ventôse (March 1st) the shares in the collaboration had been arranged and accepted. Isabey was to do the scenes and figures, Percier the vignettes and ornaments, Fontaine the architecture and perspectives. There remained 8,000 francs out of the Consecration funds, and on this they set to work. On the 1st of Germinal (March 22nd) *The Book of the Consecration of their Imperial Majesties* was announced in the *Moniteur* as due to appear towards the end of the next year, but, the year XIV being discontinued after the first quarter, it never ended.

The 8,000 francs had leaped to 15,000, which were paid out to MM. Isabey, Percier, and Fontaine on the 6th of Germinal (March 27th). On the 25th of April, 1806, there was a third advance of 10,000 francs. But Fontaine had calculated that he would spend on the Book of the Consecration all that he had economised from the decoration of Notre Dame and the Military College—81,064.51 francs, less the 25,000 he had received, or 56,064.51 francs. The Intendant-General answered that he had only 36,601.77 francs to spare. Thereupon a dispute arose. Fontaine obtained no immediate solution, but two new advances of 10,000 francs. Indeed, the best engravers of the age had been engaged—Urbain and Jean Massard, Delvaux, Godefroy, Malbeste, Dupréel, Simonet, Ribault, Audouin, Pauquet, Lavalé, Petit, Tardieu, and Coisny, and advances had to be made to them. In 1810 Fontaine, who had received 100,000 francs and spent 99,295.22, asked for 50,000 more. It was almost the last, he said; the total expense would amount to exactly 167,422.72 francs. Isabey had received 14,000 francs for his designs, Percier 5,000; for the engraving of the scenes 8,000 francs was to be the standard price; for the separate personages the price would vary—Audouin was to be paid 6,000 francs for "The Empress in Full Dress," Tardieu 5,000 for "The

Emperor in Full Dress," Ribault 4,000 for "The Emperor in Half Dress"; then they would come down to 2,950, 2,500, and 2,050, which was to be the usual sum, and even, for "The Herald-at-Arms," 1,550. There were the copperplates, the paper, the type, the retouching, and the proofs—for, in order to judge of the progress of the plates, they took several proofs each time. It was only by the Hundred Days, the very day of Waterloo (June 18, 1815), that Ségur made out the total cost of the undertaking—194,436.72 francs.

The Book of the Consecration was finished, text and plates; but only a few rare copies were issued as an especial favour, all or almost all of them bound alike at the Imperial Press, where the text had been printed. The book was not published nor any notice of it given to the public. For this reason the work escaped the Royalist iconoclasts. The copperplates were carefully stored to await better days by the worthy artist Morel d'Arleux, Keeper of the Printing House and friend of Fontaine and Denon. As to the designs, they had been collected with a text in manuscript and a set of engraved plates, so as to form a unique copy which was intended for the Emperor, and which the Intendant-General's office had had bound by Tissier, its own binder and gilder, with the monograms of Napoleon and the grand arms of the Empire. How did this admirable book of the ceremonies come to take its place, after thirty-seven years, at the *Musée des Souverains?* Through what pious hands had it passed? It is impossible to say by what miracle it had escaped the foolish devastations of the reactionaries. It did survive, and marvellously fulfilled the purpose for which M. de Ségur had intended it—that of handing down to posterity the entirety of the ceremonies performed and the dresses worn at the Coronation of the founder of the dynasty. It possesses an exactness which cannot be expected from painters obliged to choose between so many interesting scenes, to group together persons whom etiquette kept at a distance, and even to introduce some who were officially absent. It is a better authority than any treatise on the luxury, taste, and decorative art of 1804. It is a true contemporary of the events, and can be trusted; while it is just otherwise with the pictures, some of which, painted to order, are of set purpose notoriously inexact. Isabey, with his wondrous cleverness, has fixed the persons with his pencil as though he had inspected them under a magnifying glass. He is neither respectful nor serious; it may even be said that when he attempts the grandiose he fails completely. He has need of gaiety, movement, prancing horses, darting pages, and jostling onlookers. He invents conversations, he interests, distracts, amuses. He is a master of the picturesque and realistic chronicle, but to avoid falling foul of history he has minified it. He makes Napoleon tuck in his head and plays leap-frog over him, as at Malmaison.

The two works of art, wherein Isabey and David have represented the scene of the Coronation, may be compared together. Isabey did not hesitate; he has shown the Emperor crowning himself, as David once thought of doing. By a cunning trick he has preserved the gesture and the garb; he could not save the destruction of the composition. There is no unity, no centre, no balance, and no lines. It is pleasing, but it is an illustration—and that not of the first rank.

David's picture is the Coronation. The Coronation is the scene such as David, constrained by the limitations of his art, has represented it. It is in its select, sumptuous, and statuesque magnificence, the deliberate and sovereign gesture, which consecrates the new Empire and gives to it at once a grace and majesty. There is nothing in it which amuses the eye or distracts the mind. In that sweep of composition which stretches from the High Altar to die away at the Pontifical throne everything combines to produce an effect of calm. No movement is forced, no attitude unnatural. It was not so, but it is so. And Napoleon will always appear even as David has represented him, placing the crown upon her who, for posterity, will always remain his sole consort, under the benedictions of the priests and before the loving eyes of his mother, whom he has installed in the foremost place. Even those costumes of the Princes and Dignitaries, so easily turned into ridicule, are ennobled by the brush of the master who knows how to bring out the beauty of the race under the disfigurement of modern man, and who makes venerable the contemporary tinsel, harmonising it with the priestly adornments which have preserved the same form for nineteen hundred years, and which seem to have been designed for all ages. It represents an act in some almost nameless temple, in the presence of a crowd which fills the canvas, but in which the individual features, although entirely living and exact, can only be separated by an effort—an act which, since it contains in itself an history, can only be performed by one man. He is present—Napoleon.

The ages will pass away, but this canvas, of which the colours may become pale and the drawing blurred, which the modern iconoclasts may insult, which may be burnt and vanish in smoke with the museum to which it has been banished in order to deprive it of its historical renown—this canvas, by means of the millions of reproductions which represent or misrepresent it, yet spread it among every nation, has made everlasting the Coronation, has fixed it in legend, and has symbolised Napoleon. David was not so far wrong when he wrote, " In the shadow of my hero I will glide into posterity."

NOTES AND ADDENDA

FULL DRESS OF THE EMPEROR

THE Imperial mantle of purple velvet powdered with golden bees: in the embroidery are interlaced branches of olive, laurel and oak surrounding the letter **N**. The lining, the border, and the tippet are of ermine. The mantle, open on the left side, allows the sword to be seen, which is sustained by a scarf of white satin embroidered and trimmed with a cord of gold; the long robe is of white satin embroidered with gold on all the seams, the hem of the robe embroidered with a cord of gold. The cravat and collar of the shirt are of lace. The crown of golden laurels on the head, the sceptre in the right hand and the hand of Justice in the left, the grand collar of the Order over the tippet. The buskins of white satin embroidered and laced with gold.

"The dress of the Emperor on the day of his Coronation will be as follows:

Breeches and stockings of white silk: white shoes embroidered with gold: a tunic of white silk embroidered and ornamented at the hem with fringe of gold: a mantle flowing over the shoulders and chest and trailing behind; the material will be purple velvet powdered with golden bees, embroidered all round and lined with ermine.

White gloves embroidered with gold; a cravat of lace.

An open crown of gold shaped in the likeness of laurel leaves.

The sceptre and hand of Justice of gold.

A sword with a golden hilt enriched with diamonds and fastened to a white scarf worn round the waist and ornamented with golden fringe."

(The Imperial decree of Messidor 29th of the year XII, Art. I.)

Supplied by Biennais, Goldsmith.

	Francs.
Golden crown of laurel leaves	8,000
Box to contain same	1,350
Imperial sceptre silver-gilt	3,500
Hand of Justice, the decoration of pearls and shaft of silver-gilt	2,800
Orb silver-gilt	1,350

Supplied by Marguerite, Jeweller.

Setting in ring of emerald furnished by the Treasury	48
Gold and workmanship of the cordon for a Grand Order	13,500
Gold and workmanship of the Grand Order	850

(Marguerite supplied 2,261 brilliants for 867,368.10 francs, besides different stones for 13,179 francs which were inserted in the crown, the diadem, the girdle, and the Grand Order.)

Supplied by Picot, Embroiderer.

Embroidery of the grand Imperial mantle of purple velvet powdered with golden bees	15,000
Embroidery of the girdle	500

Supplied by Gobert, Lacemaker.

Fringe, cord, etc. of gold	1,547

Supplied by Vacher, Clothier.

69·1 m. of purple Tyrian velvet (for the three mantles)	1,877.17
86·32 m. of white satin	426.50

Supplied by Toullet, Furrier.

Russian ermine for the Emperor's mantle	15,000
Astrakhan lamb-skins	600
Preparation and labour	2,620

Supplied by Mlles. Lolive, de Beuvry & Co., Linen-drapers.

Cravats, collars and ruffles in point net-work	4,000
Two pairs of silk stockings embroidered with gold	240
Gloves embroidered with gold	60

Supplied by Berger, Bootmaker.

A pair of half-boots of white satin embroidered with gold, and pattern	750

Supplied by Chevallin, Tailor.

Making of tunic	100

HALF-DRESS OF THE EMPEROR

A mantle of purple velvet embroidered with gold and silver, the lining of white satin embroidered with gold on the facings and collar. The coat of velvet of the same colour embroidered with sprigs of gold on all the seams; cuffs and collar of white velvet embroidered with the same. Hat of black felt crested with white plumes; diamond loop. Cravat and shirt-collar of lace; the grand chain and cordon of the Legion of Honour; sword studded with diamonds, and on the guard the diamond called the Regent; the girdle of white satin embroidered and decorated with golden cord; the shoes of white velvet with satin rosettes, the whole embroidered with gold.

"The half-dress of the Emperor will be as follows:—

Breeches, vest, and stockings of white silk; coat and short mantle of purple velvet embroidered with gold all round and powdered with bees of gold; the cuffs of the coat and facings of the mantle white with similar embroidery; hat turned up in front, encircled with waving plumes."

(Imperial decree of Messidor 29th of the year XII, Art. 2.)

Supplied by Picot, Embroiderer.

	Francs.
Embroidery of Imperial mantle, half dress, purple velvet	10,000
Embroideries of purple velvet coat, white velvet vest and garters	3,500
Embroidery of the girdle	500
Embroideries of the loop and button of the hat ...	40
Embroidery of the baldrick of purple velvet	600

Supplied by Saint-German, Girdle-maker.

A baldrick in the Roman fashion of purple velvet embroidered with gold	1,296
A swivel-hook of gold	220

Supplied by Jacques, Bootmaker.

A pair of shoes of white velvet embroidered with gold and pattern	650

Supplied by Poupard, Hatter.

Two hats, one embroidered with gold and adorned with plumes	1,020

Supplied by Panier, Hosier.

	Francs.
Two pairs of silk stockings embroidered with gold	144

Supplied by Marguerite, Jeweller.

Making of loop for hat	168

Supplied by Biennais, Goldsmith.

Chain of the Grand Order with eagles and cross	5,000
Box to contain it	84
Loop for hat of wrought and chased gold	290

Supplied by Chevallier, Tailor.

Making of the grand and half-dress mantles	1,350
Making of coat, vest, and breeches	300

FULL DRESS OF THE EMPRESS

A mantle of purple velvet powdered with golden bees: in the embroidery are interlaced branches of laurel, olive, and oak which surround the letter N. The lining and border are of ermine. The mantle is fastened at the left shoulder and sustained by a clasp at the left side of the girdle. The long-sleeved robe is of silver brocade powdered with golden bees and embroidered on the seams; the hem of the robe embroidered and adorned with fringe and edgings of gold; the corsage and edge of the sleeves adorned with diamonds. The crown of gold, and set with pearls and coloured stones; the necklace and earrings of cut stones surrounded with brilliants; the collar of lace edged with gold.

"The costume of the Empress will be as follows:

A robe of white silk without a train, embroidered and adorned with edging of gold like the tunic of the Emperor, trimmed or untrimmed above with ornamental lace; a white girdle embroidered with gold hanging down in front; a mantle fastened on the shoulders and with a long train of the same colour and embroidery as the Emperor's. The diadem of gold and precious stones."

(Imperial decree of Messidor 29th of the year XII, Art. 3.)

Supplied by Leroy and Raimbaud, Dressmakers.

	Francs.
Mantle made to order in purple velvet, 20 ells at 40 francs	800
Embroidery of the Imperial mantle, making and clasps	16,000

	Francs.
Consecration robe in white satin, embroideries and fringe	10,000
Hem of the robe in white velvet embroidered with gold	7,000
Supplied for the same 7 ells of gold fringe at 150 francs	1,050
Supplied a *chérusque* of chenilled silk-lace[1]	24

Supplied by Demoiselle Fournet.

A pair of silk stockings and a pair of gloves embroidered with gold	94

Supplied by Marguerite, Jeweller.

Making of the crown, the diadem, and the girdle ...	15,000
Making 174 bezels	752
Setting of 42 brilliants in bezels	140
Setting in ring of rubies furnished by the Treasury ...	48

Supplied by Toullet, Furrier.

Russian ermine for the mantle of the Empress ...	10,3000
Astrakhan lamb-skins	380
Preparation and labour	1,780

HALF-DRESS OF THE EMPRESS

The Court mantle in coloured velvet with embroidery ten inches in depth, attached to the girdle by two clasps. The robe of white satin embroidered and powdered with golden bees; short sleeves; the bodice and openings of the sleeves decorated with diamonds; the collar of lace; the diadem, the comb, the earrings, and the necklace of diamonds.

Supplied by Leroy and Raimbaud, Dressmakers.

	Francs.
A lower part of a Court robe in lilac velvet embroidered with silver convolvulus, the under-robe of silver net and satin richly embroidered	12,000
A lower part of a Court robe of rose velvet and the under-robe of silver net and satin richly embroidered	12,000
A lower part of a Court robe in white velvet, embroidered with knots of violets, the border richly embroidered with gold, powdered with emeralds and adorned with fringe. The under-robe of gold net very richly embroidered...	12,000

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[1] I have sought for the meaning of *chérusque* without success. The word is unknown either to the classic Littré or the young ladies of Paquin.

	Francs.
Supplied for the same : 114 dozen emeralds at 12 francs	1,368
Supplied for the same : 49 dozen emeralds at 15 francs and 3 emeralds	738.75
Supplied a *chérusque* of chenilled silk-lace	24

DRESS OF THE POPE

A cope of cloth of gold and silver, embroidered, with different flowered patterns, lined with coloured watered siik ; the hood and gold fringe also embroidered ; the rochet trimmed with lace ; the tiara of cloth of silver ; the three crowns and the cross of gold studded with diamonds, pearls, and coloured stones ; the stole and slippers of gold cloth.

The tiara given to the Pope by the Emperor Napoleon is of the shape, as consecrated by custom, of an elongated pearl bulging slightly in the middle. The central part is of white velvet. The three golden crowns are each composed of a large hoop surmounted by flowers with leaves wrought in gold.

The middle of the hoop of each crown is occupied by a bas-relief worked in gold in the form of an elongated hexagon.

1*st Bas-relief.*—The Re-establishment of Worship.

Inscription on the front :

"Auspice Primo Cos. Bonaparte
Sacer cultus solenniter restit.
Parisiis in Basil. Beatæ Virginis.
Die Paschali 1802."

8 emerald flower-ornaments, 54 rubies, 819 brilliants, 111 rose-diamonds, 412 pearls.

2*nd Bas-relief.*—The Concordat.

Inscription :

"Pii VII summi Pontif.
Cum Bonaparte Reip. Gallic. Cos.
De Rebus Ecclesiæ componendis Partic.
Parisiis 14 Julli 1801."

8 flower-ornaments of rubies, 54 emeralds, 815 brilliants, 104 rose-diamonds, 430 pearls.

3*rd Bas-relief.*—The Consecration of the Emperor.

Inscription :

"Napoleo Gallorum Imperator
Sacro inunctus oleo
A Pio VII Summo Pontif.
Die 2 decembr. 1804."

8 flower-ornaments of sapphires, 54 rubies, 828 brilliants, 119 rose-diamonds, 385 pearls.

Above, the emerald from the tiara of Pius VI weighing 2^{o}. 5^{v}. $\frac{1}{2}$ 30 grains. It bears the engraved inscription : "Gregorius XIII. Pont. Opt. Max." Around it, 8 rubies, 24 pearls above, a cross of 12 brilliants and 18 rose-diamonds.

The tassel : 12 rubies, 2 emeralds, 36 brilliants, 233 pearls.

The slip buckle : 1 large ruby, 45 pearls.

The bands : 70 rubies, 280 pearls, 56 smaller rubies, 2 sapphires, 4 rubies, 4 emeralds, 116 brilliants, 816 pearls, and 364 pearls.

In all, there were employed 3,345 precious stones and 2,990 pearls.

Account of a tiara studded with rubies, emeralds, Orient sapphires, diamonds, and pearls ; ornamented with three bas-reliefs in gold representing The Concordat, the Re-establishment of Worship by the Emperor, and The Consecration of his Majesty by Pius VII, with the bands, as well as the tassel, enriched with precious stones like those mentioned above, the whole mounted in gold on a ground of white velvet.

By H. Auguste, Goldsmith and Jeweller.

1,522 brilliants recut, from a carat to $\frac{1}{8}$, weighing together	306 c., $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$
Plus 1,114 brilliants not recut	51 c., $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{16}$
Total : 2,646 brilliants, weighing	357 c., $\frac{2}{4}$
At 160 fr. the carat, average price ... Fr.	57,207

	Francs.
Brought forward	57,207
For the cross : 12 brilliants recut, of the first quality, at 440 fr. the carat, weighing $18\frac{7}{16}$	8,107.10
For the cross : 352 rose-diamonds of Holland at 1.50 fr.	528
For the cross : 267 Orient rubies of different sizes weighing together 229 c., $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$	30,000
For the cross : 68 emeralds of different sizes weighing together 143 c, $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{16}$	25,000
For the cross : 10 Orient sapphires, the largest weighing 77 gr. $\frac{1}{2}$. The whole 91 c. $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$	9,000
34 strings of pearls for the fringe of the bands, weighing 2 gr., 5 gr., in all 816 pearls	9,000

	Francs.
12 strings of pearls for the fringe of the tassel. 189 pearls weighing 4 gr., 24 gr., at 9.50 fr	1,800
394 pearls for the ornaments of the two bands, the tassels, the buckles, &c.	1,379
1,591 pearls for the hoops of the crowns and the borders of the bands, at 10 fr.	15,910
For the cutting of the precious stones, the setting and fitting of the diamonds, the threading of the pearls, the gold jewel weighing 7^{m}, 5^{o}. at 20 carats, the embroidery, the decorated cases, the arrangement of all the necessary expenses of the transmission from Paris to Milan wholly at the charge of H. Auguste	24,000
	181,931.10

The estimate was for 179,800 francs. The agreement was for 180,000 francs. This did not include an emerald of the largest size, and of a shape such as it was impossible to procure in the trade. The Intendant-General of the Emperor's household on Ventôse 24th of the year XII asked the Guardians of the Museum if that establishment possessed the emerald "which surmounted the tiara of Pius VI, and which would now prove exceedingly useful." The Guardians answered that they would part with the emerald with the consent of the Minister of the Interior.

DRESS OF A FRENCH PRINCE

Mantle, coat and breeches of white velvet; the mantle and the coat powdered with golden bees; the star of the Legion of Honour on the coat and mantle. The cravat of lace. The grand chain and grand cross of the Order. A hat of black felt ornamented with white plumes, a diamond loop. Shoes of white silk embroidered with gold, the rosettes of cloth of gold.

"The full and half dress of the French Princes will be of the same shape and ornamented with the same embroideries as the Emperor's; only the long mantle will be attached at the chest and will not hang down in front. The long and short mantles will be white. The hat will be caught up in front and adorned with waving white plumes."

(Imperial decree of Messidor 29th of the year XII, Art. 4.)

The full costume was suppressed. The French princes had for their full-dress only the one mentioned above, which was the half-dress of the Emperor.

S.A.I. [His Imperial Highness] the Prince Joseph, Grand Elector.

S.A.I. the Prince Louis, Constable.

DRESS OF A PRINCESS

Court robe of white silk with long sleeves, embroidered with gold; the Court train attached to the girdle of coloured velvet powdered and embroidered with gold; the collar of lace; the head-dress of white plumes; aigret, necklace, and earrings of diamonds.

"The Court dress for the Empress and Princesses will be as follows:

A full dress of material of French manufacture, with or without a turned-up collar of lace.

A mantle with a long train attached at the waist, a girdle hanging down in front.

The robe and the mantle trimmed all over the material and at the arms in silk, silver, or gold with embroidery of which the pattern shall be according to taste, or with a fringe, or with a fringe and embroidery together."

(Imperial decree of Messidor 29th of the year XII, Art. 14.)

"His Majesty has ordered me to inform your Highness that, according to his decision, the Princess ought to follow the Empress at every stage of the ceremony and hold up Her Majesty's mantle."

(Ségur, Grand Master of the Ceremonies to the Princesses.)

S.A.I. the Princess Joseph (Marie-Julie Clary).

S.A.I. the Princess Louis (Hortense-Eugénie de Beauharnais).

S.A.I. the Princess Elisa (married to Félix de Baciocchi).

S.A.I. the Princess Paulette (married to Camillo, Prince of Borghèse).

S.A.I. the Princess Caroline (married to Joachim Murat).

DRESS OF A PRINCE GRAND DIGNITARY

Coat of velvet embroidered on all the seams; mantle to match; lining and facings white embroidered with gold; the mantle powdered with bees; vest, breeches, and stockings white; girdle of cloth of gold, to which the sword is attached; hat of black felt caught up by a loop and button of gold; white plumes; lace cravat; over the coat the grand cordon; the collar of the Legion worn saltier-wise; the star on the coat and the mantle.

Each Grand Dignitary has a colour which is peculiar to himself, viz.:

The Grand Elector, flame-colour.
The Constable, deep blue.
The Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, violet.
The Arch-Treasurer, black.
The Arch-Chancellor of State, light blue.
The Grand Admiral, green.

"The Grand Dignitaries will wear a white tunic embroidered and ornamented at the edge with gold fringe; a trailing mantle fastened on the chest and embroidered all round, lined with ermine, and of the following colours: for the Grand Elector, flame colour; for the Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, violet; for the Arch-Chancellor of State, light blue; for the Arch-Treasurer, black; for the Constable, deep blue; for the Grand Admiral, green. A hat like the Prince's, white vest and breeches embroidered with gold, white stockings and shoes, lace collar."

(Imperial decree of Messidor 29th of the year XII, Art. 5.)

The full dress was suppressed. The Grand Dignitaries had for full dress only that mentioned above. The decree of Messidor 29th of the year XII (Art. 6) had conferred the half-dress upon them, which was to be of silk, velvet, or blue cloth with mantle matching the coat.

S.A.I. the Prince Joseph, Grand Elector.
S.A.I. the Prince Louis, Constable.
S.A.S. Mgr. Cambacérès, Arch-Chancellor of the Empire.
S.A.S. Mgr. Le Brun, Arch-Treasurer.
N . . . . Grand Admiral.
N . . . . Arch-Chancellor of State.

DRESS OF A MARSHAL OF THE EMPIRE CARRYING THE REGALIA

Coat and mantle of deep blue velvet, lined with white satin, embroidered on all the seams with gold in leaves of oak and laurel; cap of black velvet surmounted with a white plume; lace cravat; the sword fastened to a girdle of cloth of gold.

The square cushion on which lies the crown of Charlemagne is of violet velvet embroidered with golden bees.

"The dress of the Marshals of the Empire will be deep blue, of silk, velvet, or cloth, embroidered on all the seams with the design appointed for the Officers-General, but a third larger; vest and white breeches embroidered in the same manner; white stockings; mantle of the same colour as the coat with collar and lapels white and embroidered with gold like the coat. The hat, the cravat, and the scarf like the half-dress of the Princes and Dignitaries; they will carry a bâton five decimetres in length, four centimetres in diameter, of a blue colour and studded with golden eagles."

(Imperial decree of Messidor 29th of the year XII, Art. 12.)

Marshal Kellermann carrying the crown of Charlemagne.
Marshal Pérignon carrying the sceptre of Charlemagne.
Marshal Lefebvre carrying the sword of Charlemagne.
Marshal Bernadotte carrying the Emperor's chain.
Colonel-General Beauharnais carrying his Majesty's ring.
Marshal Berthier carrying the Imperial orb.
Marshal Sérurier carrying the Empress's ring.
Marshal Moncey carrying the Empress's mantle.
Marshal Murat carrying the Empress's crown.

DRESS OF A LADY OF THE PALACE CARRYING THE OFFERINGS

A Court robe with long satin sleeves embroidered on the seams and trimming; Court mantle of coloured velvet, fastened at the waist: silver embroidery; lace collar; head-dress of pearls on the uncovered head.

The cambric napkin embroidered with gold thread; the ewer of gold.

Mme. d'Arberg carrying a wax candle in which are embedded thirteen gold pieces.

Marshal Ney[1] carrying a wax candle in which are embedded thirteen gold pieces.

Mme. de Luçay carrying the wedge of silver.

Mme. Duchatel carrying the wedge of gold.

Mme. Rémusat carrying the vase.

The Lady of Honour, Mme. de la Rochefoucald ; the Lady of the Bedchamber, Mme. Lavallette ; the Ladies of the Palace, Mmes. de Luçay, Rémusat, de Talhouet, Lauriston, Ney, d'Arberg, Duchatel, de Serran, de Colbert, Savary have each received 10,000 francs allowance for their dresses ; 158,800 francs worth of diamonds have been divided between them.

FOR THE OFFERINGS

Supplied by Biennais, Goldsmith.

	Francs.
Two round silver-gilt platters	930.15
Two little velvet cushions	96
Two wax candles with velvet holders	96

Supplied by Marguerite, Goldsmith.

A vase of gilded silver	1010

Supplied by Auguste, Goldsmith.

Two wedges, one of gold, the other of silver	900

Paid back to M. Isabey, Designer of the Ceremonies.

For the 20-fr. pieces of gold embedded in the wax candles of the offerings	600

DRESS OF THE CARDINAL GRAND ALMONER

The cassock, the tippet, and the square cap of fire-coloured watered silk : the rochet of lace ; the grand cross of the Legion fastened to the grand cordon worn saltier-wise.

"The Grand Almoner will wear the dress belonging to his ecclesiastical rank. To this will be added a long mantle of the same colour as his clothes, with the lining and upper part of ermine."

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[1] *Sic* the French text. Perhaps a mistake for Mme. Marshal Ney.

(Imperial Decree of Messidor 29th of the year XII, Art. 19.)

Mgr. Cardinal Fesch, decorated with the grand cordon of the Legion, Archbishop of Lyon and Grand Almoner.

DRESS OF A GRAND OFFICER OF THE CROWN

Velvet mantle lined with white silk; the mantle and trimming embroidered with silver; velvet coat embroidered with silver on all the seams: breeches and vest of white silk embroidered with silver; girdle of white silk embroidered and trimmed with silver cord; lace cravat; hat of black felt caught up with a silver loop and surmounted by white plumes; on the coat the star and the grand cordon; walking cane covered with velvet embroidered with bees and topped with a golden crown. Each Grand Officer has a colour peculiar to his department, viz:

The Grand Chamberlain, scarlet.
The Grand Marshal of the Palace, amaranth.
The Grand Equerry, light blue.
The Grand Huntsman, green.
The Grand Master of the Ceremonies, violet.

"The dresses of the Grand Chamberlain, the Grand Equerry, the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, the Grand Huntsman, and the Grand Marshal of the Imperial Palace will be of the same kind as those of the Marshals of the Empire. The hat will be similar and the scarf white.

The colours of the embroidery will be as follows:

For the Grand Chamberlain, a coat and mantle of flame-colour, with silver embroidery round the coat and button-holes of the same design. For the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, a violet coat and mantle with the same embroidery.

For the Grand Huntsman, a coat and mantle of deep green with similar embroidery.

For the Grand Equerry, a coat and mantle of a blue called 'blue-bottle blue' with the same embroidery.

For the Grand Marshal of the Imperial Palace, a coat and mantle of amaranth with the same embroidery."

(Imperial Decree of Messidor 29th, of the year XII, Arts. 17 and 18.)

M. Talleyrand (G. D. ✠), Minister for Foreign affairs and Grand Chamberlain.

Duroc, General of Division (G. D. ✠), and Grand Marshal of the Palace.

General Coulaincourt (G. D. ✠), Grand Equerry.

M. Marshal Berthier (G. D. ✠), Minister of War and Grand Huntsman.

M. Ségur (G. D. ✠), Councillor of State and Grand Master of the Ceremonies.

Each of the Grand Officers of the Crown has received 15,000 francs allowance for his clothes.

DRESS OF THE MINISTERIAL GRAND JUDGE

A long robe of violet velvet; long hanging sleeves; ermine lining and facings; gown of scarlet silk; girdle of watered silk of the same colour embroidered and trimmed with golden tassels; lace cravat; cap of violet velvet embroidered with gold. The grand cross fastened to the grand cordon worn saltier-wise; the cross worn on the gown.

His Excellency M. Regnier (G. D. ✠), Grand Judge and Minister.

DRESS OF A MINISTER

Coat, mantle and breeches of blue velvet embroidered with silver; lining of white silk; the facings of the mantle of white silk embroidered with silver; girdle of white watered silk, embroidered and trimmed with gold cord; lace cravat; on the coat the grand cordon; hat of black felt caught up and surmounted with white plumes.

"The Ministers, the members of the Senate, Council of State, Legislative Body and Tribunate will wear their ordinary dress—which is to be buttoned up and almost closed in front—of silk, velvet or cloth, with a white scarf to which the sword will be fastened. A mantle of the same colour as the coat and of the same cut as the half-dress of the Grand Dignitaries, with lapels and collar of cloth of silver for the Ministers, and of cloth of gold for the Senate; of white silk embroidered in the same manner as the coat, for the Council of State; a hat like that of the Grand Dignitaries; a lace cravat."

(Imperial Decree of Messidor 29th, of the year XII, Art. 7.)

His Excellency M. Talleyrand (G. D. ✠), Grand Chamberlain, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

His Excellency M. Champagny (G. D. ✠), Minister of the Interior.

His Excellency M. Gaudin (G. D. ✠), Minister of Finance.

His Excellency M. Barbe Marbois (G. D. ✠), Minister of the Public Treasury.

His Excellency M. Marshal Berthier (G. D. ✠), Grand Huntsman, Chief of the 1st cohort of the Legion of Honour and Minister of War.

His Excellency M. Dejean (G. D. ✠), Director of the Department for the Administration of War.

His Excellency Vice-Admiral Decrès (G. D. ✠), Grand Officer of the Empire, Inspector-General of the Mediterranean coast, Chief of the 10th cohort of the Legion of Honour, Minister for the Navy and the Colonies.

His Excellency M. Senator Fouché (G. D. ✠), Minister for the General Police of the Empire.

His Excellency M. Portalis (G. D. ✠), Minister of Worship.

DRESS OF A COLONEL-GENERAL OF CUIRASSIERS

Tunic of blue cloth embroidered with silver on all the seams; white breeches; helmet and breastplate of steel damaskeened with gold: the crest of bear fur; epaulettes of silver; the cross and grand cordon of the Legion on the breastplate.

The Colonel-Generals are Grand Officers of the Empire. Under this title they receive both honours and a position at the Court and in the ceremonies, but they perform no duty with respect to the arm of which they are the titulary chiefs. Only Prince Louis, Colonel-General of the Carbineers, has been received at the head of the Brigade because Monsieur the brother of the King had been their Colonel before the Revolution.

His Excellency M. Gouvion-Saint-Cyr (G. D. ✠), Colonel-General of Cuirassiers.

M. Gouvion-Saint-Cyr is General of Division and Lieutenant-General commanding the French troops in the kingdom of Naples.

DRESS OF THE COLONEL-GENERAL OF DRAGOONS

Green tunic embroidered with gold on all the seams; rose-coloured lapels embroidered like the tunic; epaulettes of gold cord; white breeches; gilt helmet, the peak and neck-guard of tiger-skin; black plume; white aigret; sword-belt of cloth of gold trimmed with gold cord; on the tunic the star and grand cordon.

His Excellency M. Baraguay d'Hilliers (G. D. ✠), Colonel-General of Dragoons.

M. Baraguay d'Hilliers is General of Division.

DRESS OF THE COLONEL-GENERAL OF HUSSARS

Blue dolman and pelisse embroidered with gold on all the seams; white fur; blue trousers embroidered with gold; red top boots embroidered and trimmed with gold cord; sword-belt of gold; shako of black felt embroidered with gold surmounted with a plume and white aigret; on the tunic the cross and grand cordon.

This dress is unlike the uniform of any of the ten Hussar regiments.

1st Hussars: sky-blue dolman and pelisse, white braiding; scarlet waistcoat; sky-blue breeches.
2nd Hussars: chestnut-brown dolman and pelisse, white braiding; waistcoat and breeches of sky-blue.
3rd Hussars: silver-grey dolman and pelisse, white braiding; silver-grey waistcoat and breeches.
4th Hussars: royal-blue dolman, scarlet pelisse, yellow braiding; white waistcoat; royal-blue breeches.
5th Hussars: scarlet dolman, white pelisse, lemon-coloured braiding; sky-blue waistcoat and breeches.
6th Hussars: scarlet dolman, blue pelisse, yellow braiding; scarlet waistcoat and breeches.
7th Hussars: dark green dolman and pelisse, jonquil-coloured braiding; scarlet waistcoat and breeches.

8th Hussars : deep green dolman and pelisse, white braiding ; scarlet waistcoat and breeches.
9th Hussars : scarlet dolman, sky-blue pelisse, yellow braiding ; sky-blue waistcoat and breeches.
10th Hussars : sky-blue dolman and pelisse, yellow braiding ; scarlet waistcoat ; sky-blue breeches.

His Excellency M. Junot, Colonel-General of Hussars.

M. Junot is General of Division commanding the first military division.

DRESS OF THE COLONEL-GENERAL OF CHASSEURS

Green dolman and red pelisse, embroidered with gold on all the seams ; white fur ; red trousers embroidered with gold ; red top boots embroidered and trimmed with gold cord ; red sabretasche embroidered with gold and trimmed with gold cord ; cap of bear-skin, the base of red silk embroidered with gold, and ending in a golden tassel.

His Excellency M. Eugène Beauharnais (G. D. ✠), Colonel-General of the Horse-Chasseurs.

M. Eugène Beauharnais is Colonel of the Horse-Chasseurs of the Imperial Guard.

DRESS OF AN OFFICER OF THE EMPEROR'S HOUSEHOLD

Velvet coat and mantle embroidered with silver and lined with white silk ; the facings and collar of cloth of silver embroidered with silver ; vest and breeches of white silk embroidered and trimmed with silver cord ; lace cravat ; hat of black felt caught up with silver lace and surmounted with white plumes.

The Officers of the Household are distinguished, according to the department to which they are attached, by the same colours as are worn by the Grand Officers of the Crown.

The civil officers of the Emperor's household are (1st) the Chamberlains ; (2nd) the Governors of the Imperial Palaces, the Deputies of the Grand Marshal of the Palace, and the Prefects of the Palace ; (3rd) the Chief Equerries, the Ordinary Equerries, and the Governor of the Pages ; (4th) the Chief

Huntsman; (5th) the Masters of the Ceremonies; (6th) the Intendant-General; (7th) the Treasurer-General.

The First Officers—de Fleurieu, Intendant-General; Estève, Treasurer-General; Rémusat, First Chamberlain to the Emperor; Nansouty First Chamberlain to the Empress; Luçay, First Prefect of the Palace; d'Harville, First Equerry to the Empress; and de Salmatoris and Cramayal, Masters of the Ceremonies—have each received an allowance of 10,000 francs for their clothes. The Chamberlains, the Equerries, the Governors of the Pages and the chief Huntsman have each received 5,000 francs; the two Assistants for the Ceremonies each 3,000 francs.

DRESS OF THE MASTER OF THE CLERICAL CEREMONIES

The tippet of black watered silk; the rochet trimmed with lace; the cassock and square cap of black cloth.

M. l'Abbé de Pradt, the Emperor's Chaplain.

DRESS OF A PAGE

Green coat laced with gold on all the seams; shoulder-knots of green silk embroidered with an eagle at each end, powdered with bees and trimmed with gold cord; red vest and breeches laced with gold; three-cornered hat embroidered with gold; white plume.

In Frimaire of the year XIII there were twelve pages in service, viz., Galz-Malvirade, Hatry, Lemercier, Colins de Quiévrechins, Chaban, Delespinay, Friant, Houdetot, Moncey, Xaintrailles, Duval, and Pontalba.

Account rendered on the 7th of Nivôse of the year XIV, by Bastide, tailor, for the dress of the Pages:

Coat of grand uniform...	664
Vest of grand uniform	144
Scarlet breeches	42
Shoulder-bow embroidered by Dallemagne, embroiderer...	180
Hat of grand uniform embroidered with gold, with a white plume supplied by Daydé, hatter	110

DRESS OF THE CHIEF OF THE HERALDS-AT-ARMS

Trousers of white silk with golden garters; buskins of violet velvet embroidered with gold; doublet of white silk embroidered with gold at the wrists; coat-of-arms of violet velvet embroidered with gold and ornamented with gold fringe; on the breast three golden eagles surmounted with a crown of gold; an eagle on each sleeve; a sword belt of white velvet, the star and the embroidery of gold; the staff of violet velvet studded with bees and topped with a crown of gold; a cap of violet velvet laced with gold and surmounted with three white plumes; the collar of the shirt of cambric trimmed with lace.

There is a Chief of the Heralds-at-Arms (or a God at Arms—*dieu d'armes*) and four Heralds-at-Arms occupying at the same time the functions of State-messengers and of Heralds.

Duverdier, Chief and Captain; Captain Pascal, Captain Larché, MM. Zimmermann and Sallengros, formerly State-messengers under the Consuls.

	Francs.
Supplied by Chevalier, Tailor.	
Five complete suits of violet velvet	2,970
Supplied by Picot, Embroiderer.	
Embroidery of the above suits	7,953.50
Supplied by Boutet.	
Five Roman swords...	750.60
Supplied by Saint Étienne.	
Five velvet sword-belts	300
Supplied by Biennais.	
Five staves ornamented with golden bees	1,770
Five loops, one of silver gilt and four of copper ...	504
Supplied by Poupard.	
Five velvet hats, gold, and plumes	645.04
Supplied by Berger.	
Five pairs of velvet buskins	525
Five pairs of black buskins	400
	15,993.14

DRESS OF AN USHER OF HIS MAJESTY'S CHAMBER

Coat of black cloth embroidered with gold; mantle of black silk; facings of green silk laced with gold; vest, breeches, and stockings of black silk; girdle of green silk adorned with fringe of gold; muslin cravat adorned with lace; black felt hat adorned with black plumes; silver-gilt mace engraved with the arms of the Emperor and surmounted by the crown.

Ushers of the Chamber: Crozot, Dejean, Hébert, Mignot, Dupuis, Revoy.

Supplied by Sandoz, Tailor.

	Francs.
Six complete usher's suits of black cloth, mantles, and scarves	2,706

Supplied by Poupard, Hatter.

Six usher's hats, with plumes and gold lace	1,561.70

Supplied by Biennais, Goldsmith.

Six silver-gilt ushe's maces	2,400

DRESS OF A SENATOR

Coat, mantle, and breeches of blue velvet embroidered with gold and lined with white silk; the facings of the mantle of embroidered cloth of gold, girdle of white silk with gold cord; lace cravat; hat of black felt caught up with a gold loop and ornamented with white plumes.

A senator's dress supplied by Raimbaud cost 2,400 francs.

CONSERVATIVE SENATE.

Presidential Committee

S. E. M. François-de-Neufchateau (G. ✠)	President.
M. Porcher (C. ✠)	Secretaries.
M. Colaud (G. ✠)	
M. Marshal Lefebvre (G. D. ✠)	Prætors.
M. Clément-de-Ris (C. ✠)	
M. Laplace (G. ✠)	Chancellor.
M. Chaptal (G. ✠)	Treasurer.

The number of the Senators was 84, not including the Emperor, the Princes of the Imperial Family, and the Princes of the Empire.

DRESS OF A COUNCILLOR OF STATE

Coat and mantle of dark blue velvet lined with white silk; vest and breeches of white silk, the whole embroidered with light blue silk; girdle of white satin embroidered and adorned with gold cord; lace cravat; black felt hat surmounted with white plumes.

The Councillors of State did not only wear the above blue costume. They had also a red coat and silk embroidery the colour of the coat but of a different shade, the same design as the Prince Grand Dignitaries wore in gold; with the red coat a blue girdle, with the blue coat a red girdle. The red costume was reserved exclusively for Councillors of State when the Decree of June 11, 1806 (Art. 9), bestowed the blue costume upon the Masters of Requests.

COUNCIL OF STATE.

Bigot-Préameneu (G. ✠), President of the Legislative Section.

Regnaud (de Saint-Jean-d'Augely) (G. ✠), President of the Section of the Interior.

Defermon (C. ✠), President of the Section for Finances.

Lacuée (G. ✠), President of the Section for War.

Fleurieu (G. ✠), President of the Section for the Navy.

The Council of State, excluding the Presidents, was composed of 42 Councillors of State, and a Secretary-General.

DRESS OF A MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY

Coat of blue cloth embroidered with gold; mantle of blue silk with lining and facings of white silk embroidered with gold; breeches of blue cloth and white vest embroidered with gold; white girdle adorned with gold cord; black felt hat; white plumes; lace cravat.

"The members of the Legislative Body and the Tribunate will not wear a mantle."

(Imperial decree of Messidor 29th of the year XII, Art. 7, 2e §.)

In a letter to the Arch-Chancellor, dated Thermidor 13th, the Emperor, on the petition of the Members of the Legislative Body and the Tribunate, authorises him to assemble the Presidents and the Grand Master of the Ceremonies to decide on what is suitable.

Report of the Meeting held on the 17th at the House of the Arch-Chancellor.

"They shall have a mantle which will be of silk of the colour of their coat, with satin lapels embroidered for the Legislative Body with gold, for the Tribunate with silver; the rest will be according to the Decree of Messidor 29th of the year XII."

Legislative Body.

Presidential Committee.

M. Fontanes (C. ✠)	President
M. Delattre	Quæstors.
M. Jacopin	
M. Viennot Vaublanc	
M. Terrasson	

The Legislative Body is composed of 302 members.

DRESS OF A MEMBER OF THE TRIBUNATE

Coat of blue cloth embroidered with silver; mantle of blue silk with lining and facings of white silk embroidered with silver; vest and breeches of white silk embroidered with silver; white girdle; silver cord; lace cravat; black felt hat; white plumes.

"The members of the Legislative Body and the Tribunate shall have a mantle which will be of silk of the colour of their coat, with satin lapels embroidered for the Legislative Body with gold, for the Tribunate with silver, the rest will be according to the Decree of Messidor 29th of the year XII."

(Report of the meeting held on Thermidor 17th of the year XII at the house of the Arch-Chancellor.)

Tribunate.

Presidential Committee.

M. Fabre (de l'Aude) (C. ✠)	President.
M. General Sahuc	Quæstors.
M. Ferd. Jard-Panvillier	

The Tribunate is composed of 51 members.

DRESS OF THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE COURT OF CASSATION

The toga of fire-coloured cloth lined with squirrel's fur, open on the right side and bordered with ermine; the tippet of ermine; fire-coloured robe with large hanging sleeves lined with black silk; gown of black silk; cap of black velvet enriched with two strips of gold lace.

"The members of the Courts of Justice will wear their ordinary dress; only the First Presidents and the Procurators-General will have the lapels of the robe lined with white fur, and those of the Tribunal of Cassation a tippet to match."

(Imperial Decree of Messidor 29th of the year XII, Art. 8.)

M. Muraire (G. ✠) Councillor of State, First President.

DRESS OF A MAYOR

Coat and breeches of blue cloth embroidered with three silver pipings; white vest embroidered with silver; three-cornered hat with a silver loop; black plume.

The dress of the Mayors and Deputies at the nomination of the Emperor was regulated by the order of the Consuls on Messidor 8th of the year VIII:

"Art. 2.—That of the mayors will consist, as was enacted in the order of Floréal 17th of the year VIII, of the complete blue suit to which will be added silver buttons and a simple triple piping embroidered in silver at the neck, the pockets, and the cuffs; a French hat with a silver loop and button and a sword; the girdle will be the same as was formerly announced (red waist-band with tricolour fringe)."

The Thirty-six Good Towns of the Empire

Paris—Marseille—Bordeaux—Lyon—Rouen—Turin—Nantes Bruxelles — Anvers — Gand — Lille — Toulouse — Liège — Strasbourg — Aix-la-Chapelle — Orléans — Amiens—Angers — Montpellier — Metz — Caen — Alexandrie — Clermont — Besançon—Nancy — Versailles — Rennes — Genève — Mayence — Tours—Bourges—Grenoble—La Rochelle—Dijon—Reims—Nice.

DRESS OF A PRESIDENT OF A CANTON

Coat of coloured velvet; breeches to match—vest of embroidered cloth of silver; three-cornered hat; white plume.

"The Presidents of the Electoral Colleges of Departments and Divisions, and of Canton Assemblies, will be clothed in a French suit of velvet, silk or cloth, the colour according to choice. A French hat with a black plume, a white vest embroidered or unembroidered; a sword; white stockings and buckled shoes; long hair will be worn powdered and tied back in a bag; short hair may be unpowdered."

(Imperial Decree of Messidor 29th of the year XII, Art. 9.)

The Presidents of Canton Assemblies came in various numbers: Finistèrre sent 19, Sambre-et-Meuse 4, Rhin-et-Moselle 6, Seine-et-Oise 28, Vaucluse 5, La Dyle 6. The total exceeded 1,500 for the 108 Departments.

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